LIBRARY
Brigham Young University

ESTES & LAURIAT BOSTON

BOHN'S STANDARD LIBRARY.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

933
J77
1889 By
v.2

THE WORKS OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WHISTON'S TRANSLATION,

REVISED BY THE

REV. A. R. SHILLETO, M.A.

Sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge,
Translator of Plutarch's Morals, Ethical Essays.

WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.B.

VOL. II.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, BOOKS VII-XIII.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET
COVENT GARDEN.
1889.

THE LIBRARY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
PROVO, UTAH

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FORTY YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF SAUL TO THE DEATH OF DAVID.

PAGE

Chap. I. How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Son of Saul reigned over the rest, and how in the Civil War which arose Asahel and Abner were slain 1

Chap. II. How, upon the Murder of Ishbosheth by the Treachery of his Friends, David received the whole Kingdom 9

Chap. III. How David laid Siege to Jerusalem, and when he had taken the City, cast the Canaanites out of it, and brought in the Jews to inhabit it . . . 11

Chap. IV. How, when David had conquered the Philistines, who made War against him at Jerusalem, he removed the Ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a Temple 13

Chap. V. How David subdued the Philistines, and the Moabites, and the Kings of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Idumæans, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the Friendship that Jonathan, the Son of Saul, had had to him . . 18

Chap. VI. How War was waged against the Ammonites, and happily concluded 22

Chap. VII. How David fell in love with Bathsheba, and slew her husband Uriah, for which he was reproved by Nathan 25

Chap. VIII. How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his Sister, and how he was banished, and afterwards recalled by David 30

Chap. IX. Concerning the Insurrection of Absalom against David; and concerning Ahitophel and Hushai; and concerning Ziba and Shimei; and how Ahitophel hanged himself 36

PAGE

Chap. X. How Absalom was beaten, and caught in a Tree by his Hair, and slain by Joab 43

Chap. XI. How David, when he had recovered his Kingdom, pardoned Shimei and Mephibosheth; and showed great Affection to Barzillai; and how, upon the Rise of a Sedition, he made Amasa Captain of his Host, in order to pursue Sheba; and how Amasa was slain by Joab 48

Chap. XII. How the Hebrews were delivered from a Famine, when the Gibeonites had caused punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain: as also what great Actions were performed against the Philistines by David and the Men of Valour with him 54

Chap. XIII. How, when David numbered the People, they were punished, and how the Divine Compassion stopped their Punishment 58

Chap. XIV. How David made great Preparations for the House of God, and how upon Adonijah's Attempt to gain the Kingdom, he appointed Solomon to reign 62

Chap. XV. The Charge David gave his Son Solomon on the Approach of his Death; also David's Death and Character 70

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.

Chap. I. How Solomon, when he had received the Kingdom, took off his Enemies 72

Chap. II. Concerning the Wife of Solomon, and his Wisdom and Riches, and what he obtained of Hiram for the building of the Temple 75

Chap. III. Of the Building of the Temple 82

Chap. IV. How Solomon removed the Ark to the Temple, and made Supplication to God and offered public Sacrifices to him 88

Chap. V. How Solomon built himself a royal Palace, very costly and splendid; and how he solved the Riddles which were sent him by Hiram 94

Chap. VI. How Solomon fortified the City of Jerusalem, and built great Cities: and how he brought some of the Canaanites into Subjection, and entertained the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia 98

Chap. VII. How Solomon grew rich, and fell madly in love with Women, and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Hadad and Jeroboam against him. Concerning the Death of Solomon 103

PAGE

Chap. VIII. How, upon the death of Solomon, the People forsook his Son Rehoboam, and elected Jeroboam King over the ten Tribes 110

Chap. IX. How Jadon the Prophet was persuaded by a lying Prophet, and returned to Bethel, and was afterwards slain by a Lion. Also what words the wicked Prophet made use of to persuade the King, and thereby alienated his Mind from God. 114

Chap. X. Of Rehoboam, and how God Punished him for his Impiety, through Shishak, King of Egypt . . 117

Chap. XI. Concerning the Death of a Son of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterwards and was succeeded in his Kingdom by Asa. Also how, after the Death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his son Nadab, and all the House of Jeroboam 121

Chap. XII. How Zarah King of the Ethiopians was beaten by Asa; and how Asa, upon Baasha's making war against him, invited the King of the Damascenes to assist him; and how, on the Destruction of the House of Baasha, Omri got the Kingdom, and his Son Ahab after him 126

Chap. XIII. How Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to Wife, became more wicked than all the Kings that had been before him. Of the Actions of the Prophet Elijah, and what befell Naboth 131

Chap. XIV. How Benhadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten 139

Chap. XV. Concerning Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem; and how Ahab made an Expedition against the Syrians, and was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and perished therein 145

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS—FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

Chap. I. Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he appointed Judges, and by God's assistance overcame his Enemies 150

Chap. II. Of Ahaziah, the King of Israel, and again of the Prophet Elijah 153

PAGE

Chap. III. How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition against the Moabites: as also concerning the Miracle of Elisha; and the Death of Jehoshaphat 156

Chap. IV. Joram succeeds Jehoshaphat: how Joram, his Namesake, King of Israel, fought with the Syrians; and the Miracles that were done by the Prophet Elisha 159

Chap. V. Of the Wickedness of Joram King of Jerusalem. His Defeat and Death 167

Chap. VI. How Jehu was anointed King of Israel, and slew both Joram and Ahaziah; as also what he did for the Punishment of the Wicked . . . 169

Chap. VII. How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for six Years, when Jehoiada the High Priest slew her, and made Joash, the Son of Ahaziah, King . . 175

Chap. VIII. Hazael makes an Expedition against the People of Israel, and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds him. Joash, the King of Jerusalem, is at first careful about the Worship of God, but afterwards becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. When Joash King of Judah was dead, Amaziah his son succeeds him in the Kingdom 178

Chap. IX. How Amaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but when he afterwards made War against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded him in the Kingdom . . 183

Chap. X. Concerning Jeroboam King of Israel, and Jonah the Prophet: and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his son Zachariah had the Kingdom. How Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, subdued the Nations that were round about him; and what befell him when he attempted to offer Incense to God . . 186

Chap. XI. How Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah reigned over the Israelites; and how Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made an Expedition against the Israelites. How Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the Tribe of Judah: and what Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians . . 190

Chap. XII. How, upon the Death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead; against whom Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, made War: and how Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, came to the Assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascenes into Media, placed other Nations in Damascus 193

Chap. XIII. How Pekah died by the Treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser; and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz; and what Actions of Piety and Righteousness he did . . 195

PAGE

Chap. XIV. How Shalmaneser took Samaria by Force, and how he transplanted the Ten Tribes into Media, and brought the Nation of the Cuthæans into their Country in their Room 198

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.—FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS.

Chap. I. How Sennacherib made an Expedition against Hezekiah; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians; how Isaiah the Prophet encouraged Hezekiah; how Sennacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his Army destroyed, he returned home; and what befell him shortly afterwards 201

Chap. II. How Hezekiah was sick and likely to die; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen Years' longer Life, and gave him a sign of it by the Shadow going back ten Degrees 206

Chap. III. How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in Captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to his Son Amon 208

Chap. IV. How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. Also concerning Huldah the Prophetess . 210

Chap. V. How Josiah fought with Necho, King of Egypt, and was wounded, and died soon afterwards; as also, how Necho carried Jehoahaz, who had been made King, into Egypt, and transferred the Kingdom to Jehoiakim: also concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel 214

Chap. VI. How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the King of Egypt, made an Expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made his son Jehoiachin king 216

Chap. VII. How the King of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin King, and took him away to Babylon, and transferred the Kingdom to Zedekiah. This King would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judæa, were vanquished by the King of Babylon; as also what befell Jeremiah 218

PAGE

Chap. VIII. How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem and burnt the Temple, and removed Zedekiah and the People of Jerusalem to Babylon. Also a list of the High Priests under the Kings 223

Chap. IX. How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judæa, who was shortly afterwards slain by Ishmael: and how Johanan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the People, whom Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and led away to Babylon 227

Chap. X. Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon 232

Chap. XI. Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his Successors: and how their Empire was destroyed by the Persians; and what befell Daniel in Media, and what Prophecies he delivered there 238

BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS.—FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Chap. I. How Cyrus, King of the Persians, let the Jews go out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and to build their Temple, for which Work he gave them Money . . . 248

Chap. II. How, upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in the building of the Temple by the Cuthæans, and the neighbouring Governors; and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to build the Temple 251

Chap. III. How, after the Death of Cambyses, and the Slaughter of the Magi, and in the Reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the Solution of Problems, and thereby obtained this Favour of the King, that the Temple should be Built . . 253

Chap. IV. How the Temple was Built, and how the Cuthæans endeavoured in vain to obstruct the Work . . 260

Chap. V. How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews: as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah 266

Chap. VI. Concerning Esther and Mordecai and Haman: and how, in the Reign of Artaxerxes, the whole Nation of the Jews was in Danger of Perishing . . 276

Chap. VII. How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple; and how Bagoses offered many Injuries to the Jews; also what Sanballat did 293

PAGE

Chap. VIII. Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim; as also how Alexander made his Entry into the City of Jerusalem, and what Benefits he bestowed on the Jews 294

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS.

Chap. I. How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judæa by Deceit and Treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence and planted them in Egypt 301

Chap. II. How Ptolemy Philadelphus caused the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek Tongue; and set many Captives free; and dedicated many Gifts to God 303

Chap. III. How the Kings of Asia honoured the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of the Cities which they built 318

Chap. IV. How Antiochus made a league with Ptolemy, and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Euergetes to Anger, and how Joseph brought things all right again, and entered into Friendship with him, also the other things which were done by Joseph and his son Hyrcanus 323

Chap. V. How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews with one another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus made an Expedition against Jerusalem, and took the City and pillaged the Temple, and distressed the Jews. Also how many of the Jews forsook the Laws of their Country; and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and called their Temple on Mount Gerizim the Temple of Zeus Hellenius 334

Chap. VI. How, upon Antiochus prohibiting the Jews to make use of the Laws of their country, Mattathias the Son of Asamonæus alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus' Army; as also concerning the Death of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas 339

Chap. VII. How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed those Generals; and how, when a little while afterwards Lysias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem and purified the Temple 342

PAGE

Chap. VIII. How Judas subdued the Nations round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to flee away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten 348

Chap. IX. The Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias . 352

Chap. X. How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius' Army, made an Expedition against Judæa, and returned without success; and how Nicanor was sent a little afterwards against Judas, and perished, together with his Army; as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas . 357

Chap. XI. How Bacchides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell fighting courageously . . 362

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

Chap. I. How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas, and with his brother Simon waged War against Bacchides 364

Chap. II. How Alexander, warring with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Favours, and appointed him to be High Priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Favours on the other side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius 369

Chap. III. The Friendship between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor; and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like that at Jerusalem 373

Chap. IV. How Alexander greatly honoured Jonathan, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and became King himself, and made a League of Friendship with Jonathan . . . 376

Chap. V. How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, handed over the kingdom to Antiochus the Son of Alexander, and got Jonathan for his Ally; and concerning the Actions and Embassies of Jonathan . 384

Chap. VI. How Jonathan was slain by Treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High Priest: and what courageous Actions he performed, especially against Trypho . . . 393

PAGE

Chap. VII. How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made War against Trypho, and a little afterwards against Cendebæus, the General of Antiochus's Army; as also how Simon was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy . 399

Chap. VIII. Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy from the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterwards makes a League with him 401

Chap. IX. How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a League with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander 405

Chap. X. How, upon the Quarrel between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the Sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees . 408

Chap. XI. How Aristobulus, when he had taken the Government, put a Diadem on his Head, and was most barbarously cruel to his Mother and Brothers; and how, after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died 413

Chap XII. How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition against Ptolemais, and then raised the Siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathurus; and how Ptolemy made War against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make War against him, though he pretended to be in Friendship with him 416

Chap. XIII. How Alexander, upon the League of Alliance which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Cœle-Syria, and overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many myriads of Jews that rebelled against him; also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, Antiochus Pius, and others 420

Chap. XIV. How Demetrius Eucærus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got rid of his Troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius . 425

Chap. XV. How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions into Judæa; as also, how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and died after an Illness of Three Years, and what Advice he gave to Alexandra . 427

Chap. XVI. How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom Nine Years, and then, having done many glorious Actions, died . 431

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FORTY YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF SAUL TO THE DEATH OF DAVID.

CHAP. I.

How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Son of Saul reigned over the rest, and how in the Civil War which arose Asahel and Abner were slain.

§ 1.

THIS fight happened to be on the same day on which David got back to Ziklag, after his victory over the Amalekites. And when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, on the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied from the battle of the Israelites: and informed him that the end of it was unfortunate, many myriads of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul and his sons slain. He also said, that he could give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled, and admitted that he had himself slain the king, when he was about to be taken by the enemy, as he asked him to do, because, when he fell on his sword, his many wounds had

made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced, as tokens that the king was slain, the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and the crown which he had taken off Saul's dead body to bring to him. And David being no longer able to doubt the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident tokens that Saul was dead, rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions weeping and lamenting. This grief was augmented by his regret for Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the author of his own safety. He also showed such virtue and kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by him, but also to punish him that slew him: for he told him that he was his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he learned that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral panegyrics on Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own time.

§ 2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, and left off mourning, he inquired of God by the prophet which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he bestowed upon him to dwell in? And he answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron.[1] So he left Ziklag, and went to Hebron, and took with him his two wives and his armed men. And all the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and elected him as their king. And when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead had buried Saul and his sons, he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to repay them for their kindness to those that were dead; and at the same time he informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

§ 3. But as soon as Abner (the son of Ner), who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man and of good character, knew that the king and Jonathan and his two other sons had fallen, he made haste to the camp, and taking off with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was

[1] *el-Khulîl.*

Ishbosheth, took him to the people over the Jordan, and made him the king of the whole nation, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim,[1] but in the language of the Greeks The Camp; from whence Abner made haste with a picked force to fight with the tribe of Judah, for he was angry that that tribe had set up David for their king. And Joab, (whose father was Suri, and his mother David's sister Zeruiah,) the general of David's army, met him according to David's order, having with him his brothers Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon,[2] he drew up his men in order of battle. And when Abner said to him that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them that twelve soldiers should fight on each side. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight, came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran their swords into each other's sides and groins, until they all, as if by mutual agreement, perished together. When these had fallen down dead, the rest of the army engaged, and after a sharp contest Abner's men were beaten; and as they fled, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but pressed hard upon them, and urged his men to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brothers also pursued them with great alacrity, and especially Asahel, the younger, who was the most eminent of them, and very famous for swiftness of foot, for he could not only outrun men, but is reported to have outrun a horse that raced with him. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn the least out of his course, either to the one side or to the other. Then Abner turned back, and attempted cunningly to elude his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers, and again, when he could not persuade him to do so, he exhorted him to restrain

[1] Now apparently *Khurbet Mahneh*, fourteen miles south-east of *Beisân*, Bethshean.

[2] Now *el-Jîb*, close to and to the north of *Neby Samwîl*.

himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and then he would not be able to look his brother Joab in the face. But as Asahel would not be persuaded, but still continued to pursue him, Abner turned round as he fled, and stabbed him with his spear, and mortally wounded him, so that he died immediately. And those that had been pursuing Abner with him, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, stood round his dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself and his brother Abishai ran past the dead corpse,[1] and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater activity against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah,[2] and it was now about sunset. Then Joab ascended a certain hill, and stood there with the tribe of Benjamin, and took a view of Abner and his men. Then Abner cried aloud, and said, that it was not right that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly against one another, and as for Joab's brother Asahel, he was himself in the wrong, as he would not be persuaded not to pursue him any further, which was the occasion of his wound and death. And Joab consented to what he said, and accepted his words as an apology for the killing of Asahel, and called his men back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and put a stop to any further pursuit. And Joab encamped there that night, but Abner marched all night, and crossed over the river Jordan, and went to Ishbosheth Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead, and had them all buried. Of Abner's soldiers there were slain about three hundred and sixty, but of David's only nineteen, besides Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulchre of their fathers, they returned to Hebron to David. From that time there began a civil war, which lasted a long

[1] It ought here to be noted, that Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister Zeruiah, as 1 Chron. ii. 6, and that Amasa was also his nephew by his other sister, Abigail, verse 17.—W.

[2] Not identified; it was a hill facing Giah, by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon (2 Sam. ii. 24).

while, in which the followers of David grew stronger and came off best in the dangers they underwent, and the house and subjects of Saul almost every day became weaker.

§ 4. About this time David had six sons, by as many mothers. The eldest was by Abinoam and was called Amnon; the second was Daniel by his wife Abigail; the third was Absalom by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Gehur; the fourth, by his wife Haggith, he called Adonijah; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth, by Eglah, he called Ithream. Now while this civil war went on, and the subjects of the two kings had frequent encounters and fights, Abner, the general of the army of Saul's son, by his ability and great popularity with the people, made them all continue with Ishbosheth, and indeed for a considerable time they continued in fidelity to him. But afterwards, when Abner was blamed and accused of having gone in to Saul's concubine, the daughter of Aiah, whose name was Rizpah, and when he was censured for it by Ishbosheth, he was very vexed and angry because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness, and he threatened to transfer the kingdom to David, and to show that Ishbosheth did not rule over the people beyond the Jordan by his own strength and wisdom, but by his (Abner's) warlike skill and fidelity. And he sent to Hebron to David, and asked him to give him security upon oath that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, on condition that he should persuade the people to revolt from Saul's son, and choose David king of the whole country. And when David agreed to the terms of Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he asked him as the first proof he meant to fulfil the conditions to restore his wife Michal to him, as he had purchased her with great risk with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father for her hand. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was now her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself offering his assistance, for David had written to him that he ought to have his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the people, and the commanders of divisions, and captains of thousands, and said to them that he had dissuaded them from their intention when they were in-

clined to forsake Ishbosheth and to join themselves to David, but now he gave them leave to do so, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had by Samuel the prophet appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and commanders heard this, and saw that Abner had come over to that view of public affairs which they had held before, they changed their party and came over to David. And Abner called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all the body-guards of Ishbosheth were of that tribe, and he spoke to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but assented to his view, he took about twenty of his friends and went to David, to receive himself security upon oath from him, for we esteem those things more sure which we do ourselves than those which we do by proxy. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the commanders, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when David had received him in a gracious manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, asked for leave to bring the tribes with him, that he might hand over the kingdom to David when he could see and be seen.

§ 5. Directly David had sent Abner away, Joab, the general of his army, came to Hebron, and when he learnt that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, on conditions and agreements that the kingdom should be handed over to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who would assist him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank and dignity, especially as Abner was a clever man in other respects in understanding affairs and in taking occasion by the hand, and that he himself should be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army, so he took a knavish and wicked course. In the first place he endeavoured to calumniate Abner to the king, urging him to be on his guard against him, and not to pay attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the kingdom to Saul's son: that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by subtilty.

But as he could not persuade David, and saw that he was not at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former. He determined to kill Abner, and sent some messengers after him, and ordered them, when they should overtake him, to recall him in David's name, who had some matters to tell him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said (for they overtook him in a certain place called Besira,[1] which was twenty furlongs from Hebron), he suspected nothing of what was going to happen, and returned. And Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's greatest well-wisher and friend; for those who undertake vile actions, in order to prevent any suspicion of their intention, frequently pretend to be really good. And he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and led him to a solitary part of the gate, having nobody with him but his brother Abishai, and he drew his sword and smote him in the groin. Thus Abner died by Joab's treachery, which was, he said himself, to avenge his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but really from fear of losing his command of the army, and his position with the king, and that Abner would obtain the first place in David's court. By this anyone may learn how much and great wickedness men will venture upon for ambition and power, and not to be behind anyone else. For as when they are desirous of power, they acquire it by ten thousand evil practices, so when they are afraid of losing it, they get it secured to them by much worse practices than the former, as if they thought no more terrible calamity could befall them than not to gain exalted authority, or when they have got it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, to lose it again; and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions, they all of them contrive and venture upon the most desperate actions from fear of losing it. But let these few reflections suffice on the subject.

[1] In 2 Sam. iii. 26, the place is called 'the well of Sirah.' It is now *'Ain Sārah*, near Hebron.

§ 6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul, and he called all men to witness, stretching out his right hand to God, and crying aloud, that he was not partaker of the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or wish. He also imprecated the heaviest curses on him that slew him, and on his whole house, and on all accessories in the murder. For he was anxious not to seem to have had any hand in the murder, contrary to the assurances he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. And he commanded all the people to weep and lament for him, and to honour his dead body with the usual solemnities by rending their garments and putting on sackcloth, and so attired to go before the bier, which he followed himself, with the elders and those that were in authority, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not murdered with his consent. And he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and composed funeral elegies for him: and stood next to the tomb weeping, and caused others to do the same. Nay, so deeply did the death of Abner trouble him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, for he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This behaviour gained him the good-will of the people; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily pleased with the respect he paid him now he was dead, and his observation of the faith he had plighted to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing to him all the usual funeral ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and friend, and not suffering him to be insulted by a neglected and dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; and the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, everyone thinking that the king would have paid the same respect to him in the like circumstances as he showed in the burial of Abner. And indeed in this David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and so took care to do what was proper in the case, so none suspected him as the author of Abner's death. He said also to the people, that he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man, and that the affairs of the He-

brews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him who was competent to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. And he added, "God, who observes everything, will not suffer Abner to die unavenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do anything to these sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have, but God will requite their wickedness on their own heads." Such was the death of Abner.

CHAP. II.

How, upon the Murder of Ishbosheth by the Treachery of his Friends, David received the whole Kingdom.

§ 1.

WHEN Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, heard of the death of Abner, he took it greatly to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, and he was grievously afflicted, for Abner's death very much troubled him. Nor did he himself survive any long time, but was treacherously slain by the sons of Hieremmon, Banaotha and Thannus, who being Benjamites of the first rank, thought if they should slay Ishbosheth, they would obtain great presents from David, and get some military command, or some other post. So finding him alone asleep at noon in his bed-chamber, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not awake, but had fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, partly from the heat, they went into the room in which Saul's son lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and travelled all that night, and the next day, supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would take their action as a favour, and give them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and introduced themselves to him as his well-wishers, who had killed his rival for the kingdom. But David did not approve of what they had done, as they had expected, but said to them, "Vilest of wretches, you shall immediately

receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know how I punished him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and that though he slew him as a favour, that he might not be taken alive by his enemies? Or did you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and not the same man I was, to be pleased with evil-doers, and to be grateful to you for your vile murder of your master, having slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to anybody, and treated you with great good-will and honour? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and also that you owe me for supposing that I should take Ishbosheth's death kindly at your hands, for you could not lay a greater blot on my reputation than by such a suspicion." When David had said this, he had them tormented with all sorts of torments, and then put to death; and with all accustomed rites he laid the head of Ishbosheth in the grave of Abner.

§ 2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, as the captains of thousands and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, reminding him of the good-will they had borne him in Saul's lifetime, and the honour they had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen by God as king through Samuel the prophet, he and his sons after him, and pointing out besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews by overcoming the Philistines. And he received graciously their zeal on his behalf, and exhorted them to continue in it, for they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them graciously, he sent them home to bring all the people to him; upon which there came to him about six thousand eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who had shields and spears for their weapons, who had adhered hitherto to Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah chose David for their king. There came also seven thousand one hundred from the tribe of Simeon. From the tribe of Levi there came four thousand seven hundred, with Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Of the tribe of Benjamin came four

thousand armed men, for the rest of the tribe held aloof, hoping that some one of the house of Saul would yet be king over them. Of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand eight hundred mighty men of valour eminent for their strength. Of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand of the strongest men. Of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred who foreknew what was to come hereafter, and twenty thousand armed men. Of the tribe of Zebulun came fifty thousand chosen warriors. This was the only tribe that came entirely in to David, and all these had the same weapons as the tribe of Gad. Of the tribe of Nephthali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being innumerable. Of the tribe of Dan there were twenty-seven thousand six hundred chosen men. Of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Of the two tribes that were beyond the Jordan, and half the tribe of Manasseh, armed with shields and spears and helmets and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn and wine and all other sorts of food, and established David in the kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced and feasted for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

CHAP. III.

How David laid Siege to Jerusalem, and when he had taken the City, cast the Canaanites out of it, and brought in the Jews to inhabit it.

§ 1.

NOW the Jebusites, who inhabited Jerusalem, and were Canaanites by race, shut their gates, and placed the blind and the lame and all their maimed persons upon the walls to mock at the king, and said that even these would hinder his entrance into it. This they did contemptuously relying on the strength of their walls. And David was enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem,

and employed his utmost diligence and energy, intending by the taking of this place to prove his strength, and to awe all others that might exhibit a similar spirit to him, and he took the lower city by storm, but the citadel held out still, so the king, knowing that the offer of honour and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater energy, promised that he who should first cross the moat beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they were all eager to ascend, and thought no pains too great to get up there, from their desire of the chief command. But Joab, the son of Zeruiah, got up first, and as soon as he had got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

§ 2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he rebuilt Jerusalem, and called it the City of David,[1] and abode there all the time of his reign. But the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only at Hebron was seven years and six months. And after he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs prospered more and more by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and wax greater. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and alliance with him. He also sent him presents of cedar-trees, and artificers carpenters and builders, to build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David built round about the lower city, and also joined the citadel to it, and made it one work, and when he had surrounded it with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. [It was David therefore who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it after himself the City of David, for in the days of our forefather Abraham it was called Solyma, and after that time some say that Homer mentions it by the name of Solyma. And he called the temple Solyma,[2] which in the Hebrew language denotes security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from the war in which he overcame them, and dis-

[1] The 'City of David,' or 'stronghold of Zion,' 2 Sam. v. 7, was on the eastern hill between the Kedron and the Tyropœon valleys.

[2] Comp. Jewish War, vi. 10.

tributed their land among the Hebrews, was five hundred and fifteen years. Nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until David took it by siege.

§ 3. I shall here mention Araunah, who was a wealthy Jebusite, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and because of a certain affection and zeal he had to the king himself, which I shall speak of as occasion offers. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he also kept concubines. And he begat eleven sons, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenäe, Eliphale, and also a daughter Tamar. Of these sons nine were born of legitimate wives, but the two last-named of concubines, and Tamar had the same mother as Absalom.

CHAP. IV.

How, when David had conquered the Philistines, who made War against him at Jerusalem, he removed the Ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a Temple.

§ 1.

WHEN the Philistines understood that David was made king by the Hebrews, they led an army against him to Jerusalem, and when they had occupied the valley called the valley of the Giants,[1] a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein. But the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do anything without prophecy,[2] and the command of God, and without relying on him as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest

[1] In 2 Sam. v. 19, the 'valley of Rephaim;' according to Ant. vii. 12, § 4, the valley extended from Jerusalem to Bethlehem; it is now called *el-Bukei'a*.

[2] It deserves here to be remarked, that Saul very rarely, and David very frequently, consulted God by Urim, and that David aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence, or abilities, but on the divine direction, contrary to Saul's practice. And when Michal laughed at David's dancing before the ark, it is probable she did so because her father Saul did not use to pay such a regard to the ark, to the Urim there inquired by, or to God's worship before it, and because she thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be so religious.—W.

foretell to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of the battle. And when the high priest foretold that he should gain victory and dominion, David led his army out against the Philistines; and when the battle began he suddenly fell upon the enemy's rear, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, conjecturing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action worth recording, or from the slowness of their march and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phœnicia, with many other warlike nations besides, fought with them and had a share in the war. And this was the only reason why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still attacked the Hebrews with a greater force. Indeed, when they failed in their purpose in these battles, they came against David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle, and the high priest prophesied to him that he should keep his army in the groves called the Groves of Weeping,[1] which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the groves should be in motion without the wind's blowing, and as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should without delay go out to gain a certain and evident victory. For the columns of the enemy did not wait his attack, but retreated at the first onset, and he closely followed and slew them, and pursued them to the city of Gazar,[2] which is the border of their country, and spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches, and destroyed their gods.

§ 2. When this proved the issue of the battle, David thought good, upon a consultation with the elders and

[1] In 2 Sam. v. 23, 'the mulberry (or balsam) trees.' It is possibly the same place as the 'Valley of Baca,' Ps. lxxxiv. 6, and perhaps the Valley of Hinnom.

[2] Gezer, now *Tell Jezar*, four miles west of *'Amwâs*, Emmaus-Nicopolis.

commanders and captains of thousands, to send for those of all his countrymen that were in the flower of their age from the whole land, and also for the priests and the Levites, to go to Kirjathjearim,[1] to bring up the ark of God out of that city and carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and to offer those sacrifices and other honours with which God was well pleased. For had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they would not have undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when all the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brothers and children to draw it as well as the oxen. Before it went the king and the whole people with him, chanting praises to God, and singing all sorts of national songs, with the varied sound of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sound of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But when they reached the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God, for as the oxen stumbled, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of the ark to steady it. And as he was not a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. And both the king and people were displeased at the death of Uzzah, and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah[2] to this day. And David was afraid, and imagined that if he received the ark to himself into his own city, he would suffer as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his mere putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, so he did not receive it to himself into his own city, but carried it aside to a certain place, belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, by race a Levite, and deposited the ark with him. And it remained there three entire months, and benefitted the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, and how

[1] Probably *Khurbet 'Erma*, four miles west of the hill overlooking 'Ain Shems, Bethshemesh.

[2] Perez-Uzzah; the place is not known; in 2 Sam. vi. 6, the owner of the threshing floor is called Nacon.

from a poor man in a low estate he was become exceedingly wealthy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he felt confident that he should meet with no misfortune, and transferred the ark to his own city, the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers marshalled in order by the king went before it, and he himself played on the harp and danced, insomuch, that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul our first king, saw him so doing, she jeered at him. And when they had brought in the ark, they placed it in the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and feasted the whole people, and dealt out to women and men and infants a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. And when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and himself returned to his own house.

§ 3. And when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all happiness, and prayed that whatever he should desire might be given him to the utmost by God, and that he would be favourable to him; but she blamed him, that so great a king as he was should dance in an unseemly manner, and in his dancing uncover himself among the slaves and handmaidens. But he replied, that he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father and all others, and that he would frequently play and dance without any regard either to what the handmaidens or she herself thought of it. So this Michal had no children by David, but when she was afterwards married to him to whom Saul her father had given her (for at this time David had taken her away from him and kept her himself), she bore five children. But concerning these matters I shall speak in their place.

§ 4. Now, when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day by the will of God, he thought it a sin that, while he himself dwelt in stately houses made of cedar, and beautifully furnished, he should suffer the ark to be laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had foretold. And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and been bidden

by him to do whatever he had a mind to do, having God with him as his helper in all things, he was the more ready to set about the building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to tell David that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before taken it into their head to build him a temple, although in spite of his notion he would not permit him to build him a temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies; however, after his death in old age, when he had lived a long life, life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should succeed to the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to befriend and take care of, as a father takes care of his son, by preserving the kingdom to his son's posterity, and delivering it to them, but he would punish him, if he sinned, with disease and barrenness of land. When David understood this from the prophet, he was very joyful at this sure knowledge of the continuance of the kingdom to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid and very famous, and he went to the ark and fell down on his face, and began to adore God and return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state and the employment of a shepherd to so great extent of dominion and glory, as for those also which he promised to his posterity, and for the providence by which he had procured the Hebrews the liberty they enjoyed. And when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

CHAP. V.

How David subdued the Philistines, and the Moabites, and the Kings of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Idumaeans, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the Friendship that Jonathan, the Son of Saul, had had to him.

§ 1.

A LITTLE while after this he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to allow any idleness or slackness in his rule, that when he had overthrown his enemies, as God had foretold to him, he might leave his posterity to reign in peace afterwards. So he called together his army again, and charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he started from Jerusalem, and marched against the Philistines. And when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and annexed it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had cut to pieces two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Adrazar, the son of Araus, king of Sophene,[1] and when he had joined battle with him at the river Euphrates, he cut to pieces twenty thousand of his foot, and about seven thousand of his horse. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed most of them, and ordered that only one hundred should be kept.[2]

[1] Comp. Ant. viii. 7, § 6. In 2 Sam. viii. 3, Hadadezer is called 'King of Zobah,' that is of Aram Zobah, which lay eastward of Cœlesyria, and extended north-east to the Euphrates. Sophene was a district of Armenia lying between the Antitaurus and Mount Masius, that is the region round *Kharpût*.

[2] David's reserving only 100 chariots for himself out of 1,000 he had taken was most probably done in compliance with the law of Moses, which forbade a king of Israel to 'multiply horses to himself,' Deut. xvii. 16, one of the principal uses of horses in Judæa at that time being for drawing their chariots. See Josh. xii. 6, Antiq. v. 1, § 18.—W.

§ 2. Now when Hadad, king of Damascus and Syria, heard that David fought against Adrazar, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, hoping to rescue him, but when he joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he came off not as well as he expected, for he lost the battle and a great number of his soldiers; for there were twenty thousand slain in the army of Hadad, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus [of Damascus] also makes mention of this king, in the fourth book of his histories, where he speaks as follows: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of the natives of that country whose name was Hadad, who became very powerful, and reigned over Damascus, and the rest of Syria, excepting Phœnicia. He made war against David, the king of Judæa, and tried his fortune in many battles; and particularly in the last battle at the Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most notable of all their kings for strength and bravery." And besides this he says of his posterity, that after his death they succeeded one another in his kingdom and name, for he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father both his dominions and name, as was the case with the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and wished to avenge the defeat his forefather had received, so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the region which is now called Samaritis." Nor did he err from the truth, for he means that Hadad who made an expedition against Samaria in the reign of Ahab king of Israel; about whom I shall speak in due place hereafter.

§ 3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the rest of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and ordered that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem the golden quivers and the entire armour which the guards of Hadad used to wear, which Shishak the king of Egypt took away afterwards, when he fought with David's grandson Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, I shall narrate all this when

I come to the proper place. As for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and made an expedition against the best cities of Adrazar, Betah [1] and Machon,[2] which he took by storm, and plundered. There was found in them a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold, of which brass Solomon made the large vessel which was called the [brazen] sea, and those most beautiful lavers, when he built the temple to God.

§ 4. But when the king of Hamath [3] was informed of the ill success of Adrazar, and had heard of the destruction of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him, so he sent to him his son Adoram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Adrazar who was his enemy, and offered him a league of mutual alliance and friendship. He also sent him as presents vessels of ancient workmanship, both in gold and silver and brass. And when David had made this league of mutual alliance with Thaenus (for that was the name of the king of Hamath), and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with the honour that was due on both sides, and took the presents that were sent by Thænus, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken from the cities he had captured and the nations whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give him victory and success only when he went to war in person and led his own army, but he also gave victory over the Idumæans to Abishai, the brother of Joab the commander-in-chief of the army, and by him to David who had sent him with an army into Idumæa, for Abishai cut to pieces eighteen thousand of them in battle. And David placed garrisons through all Idumæa,[4] and

[1] Correctly 'Bettæa,' the Betah of 2 Sam. viii. 8, called Tibhath in 1 Chr. xviii. 8.

[2] The Berothai of 2 Sam. viii. 8, not identified.

[3] *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

[4] Edom, that is the country south of Moab, of which Petra was the capital.

received tribute from the country, and from every person in it. He was in his nature just, and dispensed justice with strict regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab, and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest with Abiathar (for he was his friend). He also made Seisan the scribe, and gave the command over his body-guards to Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his person and had the care of it also.

§ 5. He also remembered the covenants and oaths he had made with Jonathan the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of the excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was exceedingly mindful of such as had at any time bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's family were living, to whom he might make due return for the great friendship of Jonathan for him. And when one of Saul's freedmen was brought to him, called Ziba, who was acquainted with those of the family that were still living, he asked him, "Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and able to receive a return of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan?" And he told him that a son of Jonathan was left, whose name was Mephibosheth, who was lame in his feet, for when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child had fallen in battle, she snatched him up and fled away, and dropped him from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed. And when the king learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to the city of Lodebar[1] to Machir, at whose house the son of Jonathan was brought up, and sent for him to come to him. And when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and prostrated himself before him, but David bade him be of good cheer and expect better times. And he gave him his father's house, and all the substance that his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and eat with him at his own table,

[1] Possibly the same as Debir, or Lidebir, Josh. xiii. 26, a frontier town of Gad, not yet identified.

and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had prostrated himself before him on account of his words and gifts, the king called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father's house and all Saul's possessions. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate the land, and look after it, and bring Mephibosheth the profits of all to Jerusalem. And David entertained him at his table every day; and bestowed upon the youth Ziba and his fifteen sons, and his twenty servants. When the king had made these arrangements, Ziba prostrated himself before him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, and went his way. And this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and fed at the king's table, and had the same care taken of him that a son would get. He had also a son, whom he called Micha.

CHAP. VI.

How War was waged against the Ammonites, and happily concluded.

§ 1.

SUCH were the honours that those who were left of Saul's and Jonathan's family received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David, and when his son succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him, and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that the same kindness would continue to himself as had been showed to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in bad part, and not as David intended it, and excited the king to resent it, and said that David had sent men to spy out the country and its strength, under the pretext of kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into irreparable disaster. So Nahash's son, the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spoke what was more probable than the real truth, and

abused the ambassadors in a very sharp manner, and shaved off half their beards, and cut off half their garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he was moved with indignation, and it was plain that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war on the Ammonites, and would avenge this shameful treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were bound to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that money, and to Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand foot. They also subsidized the king of the Amalekites, and a fourth king called Ishtob, and these had twelve thousand armed men.

§ 2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites, but putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he at once despatched Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army. And he pitched his camp by Rabbah,[1] the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy sallied out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites was at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and picked out the bravest of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria and the kings that were with him, and handed over the rest of his army to his brother Abishai, and bade him set them in opposition to the Ammonites, and told him, that in case he should see that the Syrians pressed him (Joab) hard, and were too much for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him, and promised that he would do the same by him if he saw him hard

[1] Rabbah, or Rabbath Ammon, afterwards Philadelphia, one of the cities of Decapolis, was east of Jordan, in the highlands of Gilead; it is now *'Ammân.*

pressed by the Ammonites. So he sent his brother forward, and encouraged him to do everything courageously and with zeal, which would make them afraid of disgrace and fight manfully, and so dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he himself fell upon the Syrians. And though they stoutly resisted for a while, Joab slew many of them, and compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; and when the Ammonites saw this, and were also afraid of Abishai and his division, they stayed no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. And Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned in triumph to Jerusalem to the king.

§ 3. Still this defeat did not induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor did finding the Hebrews the better men make them peaceful, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians beyond the Euphrates, and subsidized him as an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, so he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their foot, and seven thousand of their horse. He also mortally wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces. And the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents. And he at winter-time returned to Jerusalem, but at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of the host, to fight against the Ammonites; and he over-ran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

CHAP. VII.

How David fell in love with Bathsheba, and slew her husband Uriah, for which he was reproved by Nathan.

§ 1.

BUT David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he was by nature a righteous and religious man, and one that strictly observed the laws of our fathers. Late one evening taking a view from the roof of his royal palace, on which he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman taking a cold bath in her own house; she was of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women, her name was Bathsheba. He was so overcome by her beauty, that he was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. And she conceived, and sent to the king, that he might contrive some way of concealing her sin (for according to the laws of our fathers a woman guilty of adultery ought to be put to death). So the king sent for the woman's husband, whose name was Uriah, and who was Joab's armour-bearer, from the siege; and when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege. And when he had made answer that everything went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. But Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king with the rest of the armour-bearers. When the king was informed of this next day, he asked him why he had not gone home to his house and wife after so long an absence? for that was the natural custom of all men, when they came off a journey. He replied that it was not right, while his fellow soldiers and the general of the army slept upon the ground in camp in the enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest and disport himself with his wife. When he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that day too, and he would dismiss him next day to the general. And the king invited Uriah to supper, and in a cunning and dexterous manner plied him with

drink at supper, till he was drunk, yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's doors, without any desire for his wife. Upon this the king was very vexed, and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him, and he suggested the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most dangerous, and where he might be in the greatest jeopardy by being left, for he bade Joab order Uriah's fellow soldiers to retire from the fight. When he had written this, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in the place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to him, and gave him some of the best soldiers in the army, and said that he would come to his assistance with the whole army, if they could break down some part of the wall and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such danger and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, Joab gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should retire. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an assault upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might be too quick for them, and get into the city at the very place where Uriah was posted, so they put their best soldiers in the front, and opened their gate suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence at the double. And when those that were with Uriah saw this they all retreated, as Joab had told them beforehand; but Uriah, being ashamed to run away and leave his post, waited the attack of the enemy, and bore the brunt of their onset, and slew many of them, but being surrounded and intercepted by them he was slain, and a few of his companions were slain with him.

§ 2. When this had happened, Joab sent messengers to

the king, and ordered them to tell him that he had done what he could to take the city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss; and he bade them, if they saw the king was angry, to add that Uriah was slain. When the king heard the messengers, he was displeased at their news, and said that they had done wrong to make an assault on the wall, whereas they ought to have endeavoured to take the city by undermining and other stratagems of war, especially as they had the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs attempt to take the tower of Thebez [1] by storm, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman, and although he was a man of great prowess, died ignominiously from the dangerous manner of his assault. He said that they should have remembered this, and not gone near the enemy's wall, for the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the incidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangers, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. As the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also, whereupon he was pacified, and bade the messenger go back to Joab, and tell him that this misfortune was a common one, and one to be naturally expected in war, in which sometimes one side would have success, sometimes another, and he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it again; let them raise bulwarks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they had captured it, let them overturn its very foundations, and destroy all those that were in it. And the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and hastened back to Joab. And when Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, was informed of the death of her husband, she mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife at once, and had a son by her.

§ 3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was angry with David, and appeared to Nathan the pro-

[1] Now *Tûbâs*, north-east of *Nâblus*, Shechem.

phet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a discreet and prudent man, and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than by justice, he resolved to conceal the threats that proceeded from God, and made a useful discourse to him in the following manner. He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case. "There were (he said) two men in one city, the one rich and the other poor; the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, sheep, and kine, but the poor man had but one ewe lamb, which he brought up with his children, and let it eat its food with them, and had the same natural affection for it as one might have for a daughter. Now on the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and feast his friend thereon, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took it away from him, and dressed it for food, and thereon feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly, and he declared to Nathan that the man was a wicked man who had the heart to do such a thing, and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death also. Upon this Nathan immediately said that he was himself the man that ought to suffer that punishment by his own sentence, for it was he who had perpetrated this great and horrid crime. He also revealed to him and laid open before him the anger of God, who had made him king over all the Hebrews, and lord of all those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him wives whom he had justly and legally married; but now God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, since he had married and now lived with another man's wife; and, by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him. He added that God would inflict punishment upon him on account of his wickedness, and that his own wives should be forced by one of his own sons; and that he should be plotted against by the same son; and that, although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet that punishment which he was to undergo should be inflicted publicly upon him. Moreover he told him that the boy born to

him by Bathsheba should soon die. When the king was troubled and very confounded at this, and said with tears and sorrow that he had sinned (for he was without doubt a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life except in the matter of Uriah), God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom: for he said he was no longer displeased with him seeing he repented of what he had done. And Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

§ 4. However, God sent a dangerous sickness on the child that David had by the wife of Uriah; at which the king was troubled, and took no food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it, but clothed himself in a black garment, and lay prostrate upon the ground in sackcloth, entreating God for the recovery of the child, for he passionately loved the child's mother. And when on the seventh day the child died, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, supposing that, when he knew it, he would still less take food or any care of himself, because of his grief at the death of his son, since, when the child was only sick, he so greatly grieved for him. But when the king perceived that his servants were troubled, and seemed to be affected as people very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead, and when he had called one of the servants to him, and discovered that it was so, he rose up and had a bath, and put on a white garment, and went into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set food before him, and so greatly surprised his kindred and servants, as he did nothing of the kind when the child was sick, but did all these things now he was dead. So having first begged leave to question him, they besought him to tell them the reason of his conduct. And he called them stupid, and explained to them how he hoped for the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly did all that was proper for him to do, thinking by such means to render God propitious to him, but that now the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for idle grief. When he had said this, they com-

mended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, who by the command of Nathan the prophet was called Solomon.

§ 5. Meantime Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their water, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink; for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink too freely, lest it should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and urged him to come himself and take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory ascribed to himself. Upon this letter from Joab, the king was pleased with his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the capture of Rabbah, and when he had taken it by storm, he gave it up to his soldiers to sack. And he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold, and which had in its middle the precious stone called a sardonyx. And this crown David wore on his own head frequently. He also found in the city much splendid and costly spoil. As for the inhabitants, he tortured them to death; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by storm, he treated them in the same manner.

CHAP. VIII.

How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his Sister, and how he was banished, and afterwards recalled by David.

§ 1.

WHEN the king returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the following occasion. He had a daughter, who was still a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar, and she had the same mother as Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and not being able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity and the care taken of her, got into

a bad way, and his grief so consumed his body, that he grew lean, and lost his colour. And one Jonathan, a kinsman and friend of his, discovered what ailed him, for he was an extraordinarily wise man, and of great sagacity. When therefore he saw every morning that Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however he said he guessed it came from the passion of love. And when Amnon confessed his passion, and said that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father as himself, Jonathan suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he advised him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to see him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him, for if that were done he would be better, and would quickly recover from his illness. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be ill, as Jonathan had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him, and David ordered her to be fetched at once. And when she was come Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should fancy them better from her hands. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and cooked them in a pan, and brought them to him. But he would not taste them then, but gave orders to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose free from noise and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he asked his sister to bring the cakes into the inner chamber, and when the damsel had done so, he took hold of her, and endeavoured to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon yourself dreadful shame. Curb this unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but reproach and ill-fame." She also advised him to speak to their father about it, for he would permit him to marry her. This she said being desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at that moment. But he would not be persuaded, but being inflamed with love, and

carried away by the vehemence of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as he had satisfied his lust, he hated her and insulted her, and bade her rise up and be gone. And when she said that this was more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bade her go away in the daytime while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame, he commanded his servant to turn her out. And she was sorely grieved at the injury and outrage that had been done to her, and rent her tunic (for the virgins of old time wore such tunics tied at the hands and going down to the ankles, that the petticoats might not be seen), and sprinkled dust on her head, and went through the city, crying out and bewailing the violence that had been done her. And her brother Absalom happened to meet her, and asked her what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight? and when she had told him the injury that had been done her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet and to take it patiently, and not to esteem her being outraged by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off crying out, and discovering her outrage to the multitude, and she continued desolate with her brother Absalom a long time.

§ 2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the action of Amnon, but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he felt compelled not to punish him; but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of avenging this crime on him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year had elapsed after Amnon's wicked behaviour to his sister, and Absalom was about to shear his sheep at Belsephon,[1] a city in the portion of Ephraim, and asked his father and brothers to come and feast with him. And when David excused himself, as not wishing to be burdensome to him, Absalom begged he would send his brothers, whom he did send accordingly. And Absalom charged his servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and

[1] In 2 Sam. xiii. 23, Baal-Hazor. The name has survived in *Tell 'Asûr*, northward from Jerusalem, and not far from *Taiyibeh*, Ephraim. The site of the town is unknown.

drowsy with wine, and he should give them a nod, they should fear nobody but kill him.

§ 3. When they had done as they were commanded, the other brothers were alarmed and confounded, and afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but someone got there first, and told David they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow at so many of his sons being killed at once, and that by their brother also, for the consideration that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them intensified his sorrow for them. And being completely unnerved by the tragedy, he neither inquired what was the reason for this slaughter, nor stayed to hear anything else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by its greatness so incredible, a misfortune was related to him, but he rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground and there lay, mourning for all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and him who slew them. But Jonathan, the son of his brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons, he did not believe they were slain, for he found no ground for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had done to Tamar. In the mean time, a great galloping of horses, and a noise of people coming, attracted attention. It was the king's sons, who had fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them, for it was more than he expected to see his sons again, as he had a little before heard that they had perished. So there were tears and lamentation on both sides; they lamenting their brother who was dead, and the king lamenting his son who was slaughtered. And Absalom fled to Geshur,[1] to his maternal grandfather who was king of that place, and he remained with him three whole years.

§ 4. Now David wished to send for Absalom, not to return to be punished, but that he might be with him, for his

[1] A small principality of Aram, in the north-east corner of Bashan.

anger was abated by time. And Joab, the captain of his host, stirred him up to this even more; for he suborned a woman that was stricken in age to go to the king in mourning apparel, and she told him that two of her sons in clownish way had some difference, and in the progress of that difference came to an open quarrel, and nobody appearing to part them, one was smitten by the other and was dead, and she begged him to interpose in the case, and to do her the favour to save her son from her kindred, who were very desirous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that she might not be deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him, and he could do this for her by preventing the slaughter of her son by those that wished to kill him, and her kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by anything else than fear of him. And when the king had given his consent to what the woman begged of him, she made this reply to him, "I owe you thanks for your kindness to me in pitying my old age and almost entire childlessness, but in order to assure me of your kindness, be first reconciled to your own son, and cease to be angry with him. For how shall I persuade myself that you have really bestowed this favour upon me, while you yourself continue to be angry for a similar offence with your own son? for it is a foolish thing to lose wilfully another son, when the death of one has come about against your wish." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation of Joab, and of his contrivance, and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in fact, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he wanted, and bade him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and was glad at his words, and went immediately to Geshur, and brought back Absalom with him to Jerusalem.

§ 5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, when he heard he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet disposed to see him at once. Accordingly, upon his father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented

himself with the respect paid him by his household. Now his beauty was not impaired either by the grief he had undergone, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the beauty and tallness of his body, and outshone those that lived most luxuriously, and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day, and his hair weighed two hundred shekels, which are equal to five minæ. And he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, having become the father of three sons and one daughter; the daughter was of very great beauty, and Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took her to wife afterwards, and had by her a son named Abias. And Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him, and to beseech him to give him leave to come and see him and speak with him. But as Joab neglected to do so, Absalom sent some of his servants, and set fire to Joab's field, which was near him, and when Joab heard of it he went to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done, and asked him the reason why he had done so? To which Absalom replied, "I have found out this stratagem to bring you to me, as you have taken no care to perform the injunctions I laid upon you, which were to reconcile my father to me: and I beg of you now you are here to pacify my father's anger against me, for I esteem my return here more grievous than my banishment, as my father's wrath against me continues." Then Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and interceded to the king for him. And when he talked with David, he soon brought him to that friendly disposition towards Absalom, that he at once sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and begged for forgiveness for his offences, the king raised him up, and promised to forget what he had done.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Insurrection of Absalom against David; and concerning Ahitophel and Hushai; and concerning Ziba and Shimei; and how Ahitophel hanged himself.

§ 1.

NOW Absalom, after his reconciliation with his father the king, got for himself a great many horses and chariots in a very little time. He had, moreover, fifty armour-bearers about his person, and came early every day to the king's palace, and spoke agreeably to such as came for justice and lost their cases, as if it happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judges gave unjust sentences. So he gained the good-will of all, and told them, that had he the authority committed to him, he would dispense justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself in this way popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him, so when four years had elapsed since his father's reconciliation to him,[1] he went to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, which he vowed when he fled from the country. So when David had granted his request, he went there, and great multitudes came flocking together to him, for he had sent to many to do so.

§ 2. Among them came Ahitophel the Gilonite,[2] a counsellor of David, and two hundred men from Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. And Absalom was appointed king by all of them

[1] This is one of the best corrections that Josephus's copy affords us of a text that in our ordinary copies is grossly corrupted. They say, that this rebellion of Absalom was forty years after what went before (of his reconciliation to his father), whereas the series of the history shows it could not be more than 'four' years after it, as here in Josephus; whose number is directly confirmed by that copy of the Septuagint version, whence the Armenian translation was made, which gives us the small number of four years.—W.

[2] That is a native of Giloh, a town in the mountainous part of Judah, near Debir, and now possibly *Khurbet Jâla.*

through this stratagem. As soon as the news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was alarmed at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how lately his offence had been forgiven, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises still, first, to deprive him of the kingdom which was given him by God, and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to flee to the parts beyond the Jordan, and he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he heard of his son's desperate conduct. He committed himself to God to judge all his actions, and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and fled from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the people, and by those six hundred armed men who had been with him in his first flight in the days of Saul. But he persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, to stay with the ark, hoping that God would deliver him without its removal, and he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on: and he took with him Ahimaaz the son of Zadok and Jonathan the son of Abiathar as his faithful ministers in all things. Ittai the Gittite also went out with him, though David would have had him to stay, and on that account he appeared more friendly to him. And as the king was ascending the mount of Olives barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahitophel was with Absalom and on his side. This news augmented his grief, and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahitophel, for he was afraid that he would persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel, for he was an able man and very keen in seeing what was advantageous. When David had reached the top of the mount, he looked back at the city, and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as if he had already lost his kingdom: and here it was that a faithful friend of his met him whose name was Hushai. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and dust on his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him and exhorted him to leave off grieving, and at last besought

him to go back to Absolom, and appear as one of his party, and so fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and oppose the advice of Ahitophel, for he could not do him as much good by going with him as he might by being with Absolom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and went to Jerusalem, where Absolom himself came also a little while afterwards.

§ 3. When David was gone a little further, Ziba the servant of Mephibosheth (whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given to the son of Jonathan and grandson of Saul), met him with a couple of asses laden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth? he said he had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusion, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon the nation. At this the king was greatly indignant, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he decided that it was much more right that he should have them than the other. At this Ziba greatly rejoiced.

§ 4. And when David was at Bahurim,[1] a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, who threw stones at him, and uttered reproachful words: and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of evils. He bade him also go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch, and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished by his own son for the injuries he had done his master Saul. Now when they were all provoked to anger against him, and particularly Abishai, who wished to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger, "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for indeed I have not the least regard or concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a savage manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these

[1] A place on the old road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and apparently not far from *el-'Aisâwîyeh.*

abuses from him, since I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some compassion upon us, and if it be his will we shall overcome our enemies." So he went on his way without troubling himself about Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abuse plentifully. And when David reached the Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves, for they were weary.

§ 5. But when Absalom and Ahitophel his counsellor were come to Jerusalem with all the people, David's friend Hushai came to them, and prostrated himself before Absalom, and prayed that his kingdom might last for ever and continue for all time. And Absalom said to him, "How comes it that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very clever and prudent, for he said, "We ought to follow God and all the people. As therefore they, my lord and master, are with you, it is fit that I should follow them, for you have received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if you believe me to be your friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to you which you know I have showed to your father: nor is there the least reason to be dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred to another family, but remains still in the same, by son succeeding father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahitophel, and consulted with him what he should do; and he advised him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said that the people would know and believe by this action that his difference with his father was irreconcileable, and would therefore fight with greater zeal against his father, for hitherto they were afraid of taking up open enmity against him, from the expectation that they would be reconciled again. And Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent on the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in to it and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan,

when he prophesied and told David that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

§ 6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to do by Ahitophel, he desired his opinion, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now, Ahitophel asked him to let him have ten thousand picked men, and he undertook to slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety, and said that the kingdom would be secure to him only when David was dead. Absalom was pleased with this suggestion, and sent for Hushai, David's friend (for so did he call him), and informing him of the opinion of Ahitophel, he asked further what was his view on the matter? Now Hushai saw that if Ahitophel's counsel was followed, David would be in danger of being taken and slain, so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said: "You are not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of your father, and of those that are now with him, for he has made many wars, and has always come off with victory over his enemy. It is likely that he now stays in camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the wiliness of his enemies, and will leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock: so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, being encouraged by the king's being near them; and meantime your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, and bring consternation to yours. Consider therefore my advice and reason upon it, and if you acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahitophel. And send round to the entire country of the Hebrews, and bid them come and fight against your father; and do you yourself take over the army, and be your own general in the war, and do not trust its management to another. And expect to conquer him with ease, when you take him in the open with his few followers, having yourself many myriads desirous of showing to you their zeal and energy. And if your father shall shut himself up in some city and stand a siege, we will overthrow that city by machines of war and

undermining." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahitophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom to the other's: but it was God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

§ 7. Then Hushai hastened to the high priests Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the counsel of Ahitophel and his own, and that it had been decided to follow his. He therefore bade them send to David and tell him of it, and inform him of what had been resolved upon, and exhort him further to pass quickly over the Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so get the start of him and take him before he could be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed outside the city on purpose, that they might carry news to David of what was going on. So they sent a maid-servant whom they could trust, to carry them the news of Absalom's determination, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. And they lost no time and made no delay, but taking with them their fathers' injunctions, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging quickness and speed the best mark of faithful service, made haste to meet David. But certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some men to take them; but when the sons of the high priests perceived this, they left the high road at once, and betook themselves to a certain village not far from Jerusalem called Bahurim; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and give them security. And she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them, and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she had seen them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for they had stayed with her some time, she said, and then gone away, and she foretold them that if they would follow them directly, they would catch them. But when after a long pursuit they did not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw that they had returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go on their errand. And they

used great diligence in the prosecution of their journey, and got to David, and informed him accurately of all the plans of Absalom. And he commanded those that were with him to pass over the Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

§ 8. But Ahitophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass and rode away to his own city, Gilon;[1] and calling his family together, he told them in detail the advice he had given Absalom, and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would certainly perish, and that in no long time, for David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again. So he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had thus discoursed to them, he went into the innermost room of his house, and hanged himself. Such was the death of Ahitophel, who was self-condemned, and when his relations had cut him down from the rope, they took care of his funeral. As for David, he passed over the Jordan, as I have said already, and came to Mahanaim,[2] a very fine and very strong city. And all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both from the shame they had that he should have been forced to flee away [from Jerusalem], and from the respect they bore him when he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler of the Ammanites, and Machir the principal man in Gilead; and they furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted neither beds nor blankets, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; they brought them also a great many cattle for slaughter, and offered them whatever they wanted for their refreshment and food when they were weary, in plentiful supply.

[1] The Giloh of 2 Sam. xv. 12. See note 2, p. 23.

[2] Possibly *Mahneh*, fourteen miles south-east of *Beisân*, Bethshean; but the identification is uncertain.

CHAP. X.

How Absalom was beaten, and caught in a Tree by his Hair, and slain by Joab.

§ 1.

SUCH was the state of David and his followers. But Absalom mustered together a large army of the Hebrews against his father, and crossed over the river Jordan, and encamped not far from Mahanaim in the region of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his army, instead of Joab his kinsman. The father of Amasa was Ithra, and the mother Abigail: both she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to wait till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts: one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, though he came from the city of Gath.[1] And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him, checking him on very wise grounds. "For," (said they,) "if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all our good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he has another army with him." And David was pleased with this advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible zeal and fidelity, and to bear in mind what benefits they had received from him; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest he should do himself some mischief if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to battle, and prayed for their victory therein.

[1] *Tell es-Sâfi.*

§ 2. And Joab put his army in battle array over against the enemy in the great plain, which had a wood behind it. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. On the opening of the battle both sides displayed great valour and boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and exhibiting the utmost zeal, that David might recover his kingdom, and the other side being no way deficient either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of the kingdom, and brought to punishment by his father for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were anxious that they should not be conquered by the few that were with Joab and his under officers, for that would be the greatest disgrace to them, while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many myriads of the enemy. So the battle was stoutly contested, but David's men were the conquerors, being superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through coppices and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. And all David's men hotly pursued Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and height. He was himself also afraid that his enemies would capture him, so he got upon the royal mule and fled; but as he was borne with rapidity and unsteady motion, being himself light, he entangled his hair in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there hung in a marvellous manner; and as for the beast, it went on swiftly as if its master had been still upon its back, but he, hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. And when one of David's soldiers saw him, he informed Joab, and when the general said, that if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels, he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if you would have given me a thousand shekels, especially as he begged that the young man might be spared in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hanging, and shot him to the heart and slew him, and Joab's armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a large

obscure pit, and threw stones upon him till it was filled up, when it had both the appearance and dimensions of a grave. Then Joab sounded the retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, wishing to spare his fellow-countrymen.

§ 3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar [1] in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, if his children were killed, that his name would remain by that pillar. Now he had three sons, and one daughter named Tamar, as I said before, who was married to David's grandson Rehoboam, and bore a son, Abias by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom: but of these I shall speak in a part of my history which will be more proper. And after the death of Absalom the people returned every one to their own homes.

§ 4. And now Ahimaaz the son of Zadok the high priest went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded him his assistance and care. However, he did not grant his request, but said to him, "Will you, who have always been the messenger of good news, go now and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to stay, and called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had himself seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, and would say nothing about the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. And he took a short cut which nobody knew but himself, and got before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting for somebody to come to him from the battle and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, and the king said he was a good

[1] Josephus appears here to place Absalom's pillar in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where there is now a monument known by his name. In 2 Sam. xiii. 18, the position of the 'King's dale' is not indicated; but it is believed by many writers to be the same place as the 'King's dale' or valley of Shaveh of Gen. xiv. 17.

messenger. A little while after he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he also was a good messenger. But when the watchman recognized Ahimaaz, who was now very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest who came running. Then David was very glad, and said he was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him news from the battle such as he would be glad to hear.

§ 5. While the king was saying this, Ahimaaz appeared and prostrated himself before the king, and when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said he brought him good news of victory and dominion. And when he inquired if he had any news about his son, he said that he came away directly the enemy was defeated, and that he heard a great shouting of those that pursued Absalom, but that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform the king of the victory. But when Cushi was come, and had prostrated himself, and informed the king of the victory, he asked him about his son, and he replied, "May the like misfortune befall your enemies as has befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either David or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city,[1] and called his son by name, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, and tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with you!" For David was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary love for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned so for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the guise of conquerors, and all came in

[1] Since David was now in Mahanaim, and in the open place of that city gate, which seems still to have been built the highest of any part of the wall, and since our other copies say, he 'went up to the chamber over the gate,' 2 Sam. xviii. 23, I think we ought to correct our present reading in Josephus, and for 'city' should read 'gate,' *i. e.* instead of the highest part of the 'city,' should say the highest part of the 'gate.' Accordingly, we find David presently in Josephus, as well as in our other copies, 2 Sam. xix. 8, sitting as before in the 'gate' of the city. —W.

dejected and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now, while the king covered his face, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and talked him round, and said, "My lord the king, you are not aware that you do yourself wrong by what you now do: for you seem to hate those that love you, and undergo dangers for you, nay, even yourself and your family, and to love those that are your bitter enemies, and to regret those that are no more, who have been justly slain. For had Absalom got the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there would have been no vestige of us left, but all of us, beginning with yourself and your children, would have miserably perished, while our enemies would not have wept over us, but rejoiced over us, and punished those that pitied us in our misfortunes. And you are not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been your bitter enemy, who, though he was your son, has proved so wicked. Leave off, therefore, your unreasonable grief, and come abroad and show yourself to the soldiers, and return them thanks for the zeal they showed in the fight; for I will myself this day persuade the people to leave you, and to give the kingdom to another, if you continue to act thus; and then I shall make you grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. And David changed his behaviour, and showed himself so as to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

CHAP. XI.

How David, when he had recovered his Kingdom, pardoned Shimei and Mephibosheth; and showed great Affection to Barzillai; and how, upon the Rise of a Sedition, he made Amasa Captain of his Host, in order to pursue Sheba; and how Amasa was slain by Joab.

§ 1.

NOW those Hebrews that had belonged to Absalom's party, and had escaped from the battle, when they had all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of the benefits which David had bestowed upon them, and of the liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and offered it to another, and this other whom they had set up was now dead, they did not beseech David to leave off his anger, and to become friends with them, and as before to resume the care of their affairs, and take over the kingdom again. This was often reported to David, notwithstanding he sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, telling them to say to the rulers of the tribe of Judah that it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, and that as they were akin to him and of the same blood. He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa, the captain of their forces, and to tell him that though he was his sister's son, and yet had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David, yet he might expect from him not only reconciliation, for that was already granted but the supreme command of the army also, which Absalom had bestowed upon him. Accordingly, the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of the king's affairs. And he persuaded his tribe to send immediately messengers to beseech the king to return to his

kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the persuasion of Amasa.

§ 2. When the messengers went to the king, he returned to Jerusalem, and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men of the tribe of Benjamin whom he brought with him, and Ziba the freedman of Saul came with his fifteen sons and twenty servants. All these, with the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge over the river, that the king and those that were with him might cross over with ease. And as soon as he was come to the Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also went upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him to forgive his offence against him, and not to be bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example in his new authority, but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first to him. While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Joab's brother Abishai said, "And shall not this man die for having cursed him whom God appointed to be king?" But David turned to him, and said, "Will ye never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for it is not right for you to be ignorant that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit all offenders their punishments, and not to proceed against any one that has sinned. Be you therefore, (said he,) Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." Then Shimei prostrated himself before the king, and went on before him.

§ 3. Saul's grandson Mephibosheth also came to meet David, clothed in a dirty garment, and having his hair long and neglected; for after David fled away, he was in such grief, that he had not polled his head, nor washed his clothes, dooming himself to such neglect on occasion of the change in the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba his steward. So when he had greeted the king, and prostrated himself before him, the king began to ask him, "Why ever he had not gone out of Jerusalem with him, and accompanied him during his flight?" He replied that it was all Ziba's

fault, for when he was ordered to get things ready for his setting out, he paid no attention to him, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave. "And indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I should not have been left behind you, for I could have made use of them in flight. But this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to you, my lord and master; but he has calumniated me besides, and told lies about me to injure me, but I know your mind will not believe such calumnies, being just and loving the truth, which God also wishes to prevail. For when you were in the greatest danger of suffering at the hand of my grandfather, and when on that account our whole family deserved to perish, you were moderate and merciful, and quite forgot all those injuries, when, if you had remembered them, you had the power of punishing us for them. And you judged me to be your friend, and set me every day at your table, nor did I want anything which one of your own kinsmen held in highest honour could have expected." When he said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba as having belied his master, but said to him, that as he had granted all his estate to Ziba, because he had not come along with him, so he now promised to forgive him, and ordered that half his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all, it is enough for me that you have recovered your kingdom."

§ 4. Then David besought Barzillai the Gileadite, that great and good man, who had made a plentiful provision for the king at Mahanaim, and conducted him as far as the Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of honour, to take care of him as if he were his father, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said that his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] for he was fourscore years old, and had therefore to make provision for his death and burial, so he begged him to gratify him in this desire, and dismiss him, for he had no relish of his meat or drink by reason of his age, and his ears were deaf to

the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as those that lived with kings delighted in. As he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss you then, but you shall leave with me your son Chimham, and upon him will I bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and prostrated himself before the king, and prayed for a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his mind, and returned home. Then David went to Gilgal,[1] having already with him half the people of Israel, and all the tribe of Judah.

§ 5. Now the principal men of Israel came to him to Gilgal with a great multitude, and complained that the tribe of Judah had come to him secretly, whereas they ought all to have met him conjointly and unanimously. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased at their having come first, for, said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and on that account we took more care of him, and loved him, and came first to him, but we did not for our early coming receive any gifts from him, to give them who came last any cause for vexation." When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not content, but said, "O brothers, we cannot but wonder at you calling the king your kinsman alone, for he that has received from God the power over all of us, ought to be esteemed a kinsman of us all: for which reason, the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part, we also are older than you, so you have not done justly in coming to the king in his stealthy and secret manner."

§ 6. While these rulers were disputing thus with one another, a certain wicked man who took pleasure in sedition, whose name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin, stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spoke thus to them: "We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had spoken these words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king, and all Israel left David and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone remained

[1] *Jiljûlia.*

with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for the concubines, with whom Absalom his son had lain, he removed them to another house, and ordered those that had the care of them to supply them with all things necessary, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa as the captain of his forces, and gave him the post that Joab had before, and bade him muster out of the tribe of Judah as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might put his entire army into his hands, and send him to fight against the son of Bichri. Now, when Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so had not returned on the third day, the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than Absalom did. Do not therefore wait any longer, but take what force you have at hand, and the six hundred, and your brother Abishai, and pursue after the enemy, and make him fight wherever you find him. Make haste to anticipate him, lest he seize upon some fortified cities, and cause us great labour and pains to dislodge him."

§ 7. And Joab resolved to make no more delay, but taking with him his brother and the six hundred, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow, he marched against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon,[1] a village forty furlongs from Jerusalem, Amasa met him with a great army. Now Joab was girded with a sword and had his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out of the scabbard as if spontaneously. Then he took it up from the ground, and approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, and took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and stabbed him in the belly when he did not expect it, and slew him. This impious and altogether unholy action Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, merely out of

[1] *el-Jîb.*

jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and have equal rank with himself about the king, and it was for the same reason that he had killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretext, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such excuse. And when Joab had killed his fellow-general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army that Amasa was justly slain and deservedly punished, and to say to them, "If you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai Joab's brother." But as the body lay in the road, and all the multitude came running up to it, and, as is usual with a crowd, gaping and staring a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence, and carried it to a place very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, a certain person told him that he was in a strong city called Abel-macheah,[1] so Joab went there, and besieged it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city would not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

§ 8. Now there was a woman in the city both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native place lying at the last extremity, climbed upon the walls, and through the armed men called for Joab; and when he came near, she began to say, "God gave us kings and generals of armies to drive out the enemies of the Hebrews, and to introduce universal peace among us, but you are endeavouring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which has been guilty of no offence." But he replied, "God continue to be merciful unto me: I desire to avoid killing any of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this: and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who has rebelled against the king, I will raise the siege, and withdraw the army." Now as soon as the woman

[1] Abel Beth-Maacah; now *Abl*, west of *Bâniâs*.

heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him at once. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wretched as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows anything about? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who has been so great a benefactor to you, and will you oppose one city to such a mighty and strong army?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he had returned to Jerusalem, he was again appointed general of all the people. The king also made Benaiah captain of the body-guards and of the six hundred. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilaus over the records, and made Susa the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar as the high priests.

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews were delivered from a Famine, when the Gibeonites had caused punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain: as also what great Actions were performed against the Philistines by David and the Men of Valour with him.

§ 1.

AFTER this, when the country was grievously afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for it. And the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom king Saul had been so wicked as to betray to slaughter, violating the oath which the general Joshua and the senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain, as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and

free the people from the famine. As soon therefore as the king learned from the prophets that it was this which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them, What they would have? and when they asked to have seven sons of the race of Saul delivered up to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. And when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain at once, and to make the earth again bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the previous drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. Not long afterwards the king made war against the Philistines, and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired out, he was descried by one of the enemy, whose name was Acmon, the son of Araph; he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain work, and a sword. He turned and rushed violently to slay David, who was quite tired out, but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the people were very uneasy at this danger and near escape of the king, and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed through him, and those they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time with them.

§ 2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city of Gazar,[1] he sent an army against them, when Sobacches the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those who bragged that they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on their bravery, and so was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. And after that defeat the Philistines made war again: and when David sent an

[1] Gezer, now *Tell Jezar*, see note 2, p. 14; in 2 Sam. xxi. 18, the place is called Gob.

army against them, Nephan his kinsman won great renown, for he fought in single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the flight. And a little while after this the Philistines pitched their camp at the city of Gath,[1] which lay not far off the borders of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now Jonathan, the son of Shimea, out of the army sent against them by David, fought this man in single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This Philistine also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

§ 3. And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the rest of his reign profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God in several kinds of metre: some of those which he made were trimeters, and some pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on the Sabbath-day, and on the other festivals. Now this was the construction of the instruments: the lyre was an instrument of ten strings played upon with a plectron, the psaltery had twelve musical notes and was played upon by the fingers, the cymbals were broad and large instruments made of brass. And so much shall suffice to say about these instruments, that the reader may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

§ 4. Now all the men that were about David were men of courage. Those of them that were most illustrious and famous for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom only I will relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First then was Jessamus, the son of Achemæus, who frequently rushed upon the ranks of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew

[1] *Tell es-Sáfi.*

nine hundred of them. The second was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam.[1] This man once, when the Israelites were in consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood his ground alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword stuck to his hand from the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines routed by him, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and famous victory, for Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Cesabæus, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when, in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called Lehi,[2] and when the Hebrews were again afraid of the enemy and fled, stood his ground alone as if an army and body of men, and some of them he slew, and others who were not able to abide his strength and force, but fled away, he pursued. These were the works of their hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. And once, when the king was at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came against him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as I have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city of Bethlehem,[3] which is twenty furlongs from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if anyone would bring him some of it to drink: for he said he would rather have it than a great deal of money. When these three men heard what he said, they ran off immediately, and burst through the midst of the enemy's camp, and went to Bethlehem, and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, and the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and stout-heartedness, that they kept quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their

[1] Arasamos; in 1 Chr. xi. 13, it is Pas-dammim; in 1 Sam. xvii. 1, Ephes-dammim; a place not yet identified between Socoh and Azekah.

[2] Or *Jaw-bone*. Apparently the same place as the scene of Samson's exploit with the jawbone (Judg. xv. 9, 14, 19); the site is unknown.

[3] The 'Valley of the Giants,' see note 1, p. 13.

small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, for he said that it was got by the danger and blood of the men, and that it was not right on that account to drink it. So he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the safety of the men. The fourth was Abishai, Joab's brother, who in one day slew six hundred of the enemy. The fifth was Benaiah, by lineage a priest; who, being challenged by [two] eminent brothers in the country of Moab, overcame them by his valour. And again, when an Egyptian of vast size challenged him, though he was unarmed, he killed him with his own spear which he threw at him, for he snatched his javelin, and took away his weapons, while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with them. One might also add the following to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the bravest of them, or equal to the rest. When God sent a snow, a lion slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow, it was evident the lion would perish, being enclosed in the snow, so as it saw no way to get out and save itself, it roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, for he was passing by at the time, at the roaring it made, he went down to the mouth of the pit, and smote it as it struggled with a club that was in his hand, and immediately slew it. The other thirty-three were like these in valour also.

CHAP. XIII.

How, when David numbered the People, they were punished, and how the Divine Compassion stopped their Punishment.

§ 1.

NOW king David was desirous to know how many myriads of the people there were, but he forgot the commands of Moses, who had said beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they were to pay half a shekel to God per head. And the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude: but though he said there was no necessity for such a census,

the king was not persuaded, but enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews at once. Then Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took a census of the people, and returned to Jerusalem to the king nine months and twenty days after, and gave in to the king the number of the people, with the exception of the tribe of Benjamin, for he did not number that tribe, or the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men able to bear arms and go to war, and the tribe of Judah by itself was four hundred thousand men.

§ 2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry with him, he began to entreat and beseech him to be merciful to him and forgive him his sin. Then God sent Gad the prophet to him to offer him the choice of three things, that he might select which he liked best: whether he would have famine come upon the country for seven years? or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a pestilence and plague upon the Hebrews for three days? But as he was reduced to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was sorely troubled and confounded; and when the prophet said he must make his choice, and ordered him to answer quickly, that he might report his choice to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without risk to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of his people, and in case he should choose to be conquered by his enemies for three months, he would appear to have chosen war because he had valiant men about him and strongholds, and so feared nothing therefrom, therefore he chose that affliction which is common to kings and their subjects, and in which the fear was equal to all, and observed that it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into those of the enemy.

§ 3. When the prophet received this answer, he reported it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and mortality upon the Hebrews. But they did not die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what

their malady was, for the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were stricken could not understand. For one died after another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them quickly to their end, some giving up the ghost suddenly with very great and sharp pains, and some being worn away by their sufferings, and having very little left to be buried, being as soon as ever they fell sick entirely macerated; some were choked, and wailed aloud, being also stricken with sudden darkness; and some there were, who fell down dead as they were burying a relation, without finishing the funeral. And there perished by this pestilence, which began in the morning and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. And the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, to send this terrible judgment upon it. But David put on sackcloth and lay on the ground, begging and entreating God that the plague might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel borne along thereby towards Jerusalem with his sword drawn, he said to God that he, the shepherd, might justly be punished, but that the sheep ought to be preserved not having sinned at all, and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him and upon all his family, but spare the people.

§ 4. And God heard his supplication and caused the pestilence to cease, and sent the prophet Gad to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build there an altar to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not disobey, but hastened at once to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was threshing wheat, and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran up to him, and prostrated himself before him: he was by race a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David, who for that reason did him no harm when he overthrew the city, as I pointed out a little back. And when Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" David answered that he came to buy of him his threshing-floor, that he might build thereon an altar to God, and

offer a sacrifice. Araunah replied, that he freely gave him both the threshing-floor and ploughs and oxen for a burnt-offering, and he prayed that God would graciously accept his sacrifice. But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good-will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for it was not right to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said he might do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when the king had built an altar, he performed divine service, and offered a burnt-offering and peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious again. Now it happened that Abraham came to offer up his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at this very place,[1] and when the youth was about to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as I have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there. This word he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterwards, for God sent the prophet to him, and told him, that the son who was to succeed him in the kingdom should there build him a temple.

[1] What Josephus adds here is very remarkable, that this mount Moriah was not only the very place where Abraham offered up Isaac long ago, but that God had foretold to David by a prophet, that here his son should build him a temple; which is not directly in any of our copies, though very agreeable to what is in them, particularly to 1 Chron. xxi. 26-28, and xxii. 1, to which places I refer the reader.—W.

CHAP. XIV.

How David made great Preparations for the House of God, and how upon Adonijah's Attempt to gain the Kingdom, he appointed Solomon to reign.

§ 1.

AFTER the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered, and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand. He appointed fourscore thousand of these to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set three thousand five hundred over the workmen. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the works, and many exceeding large cedar trees, the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had asked them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son who was to reign after him, and that he might not have to provide them then, as he was very young, and unskilful in such matters because of his youth, but might have them lying by him to complete the work.

§ 2. Then David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he received the kingdom, to build a temple to God, and said, "I intended to build to God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars, but he foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, who should be called by that name, over whom he has promised to take the care that a father takes over his son, should build him a temple; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy in his days, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars and from internal dissensions, which is the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore, you were designed king by God himself before you were born, endeavour to make yourself worthy of his providence, as in other respects, so particularly in being religious and righteous and courageous. Keep also his commandments and laws, which he

has given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God the temple which he hath chosen to be built in your reign, and be not dismayed at the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready for you before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, collected together. I have also stored up brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and stones. Moreover, you have many myriads of stone-cutters and carpenters; and if you want anything more, you yourself will add it. And if you carry through this work, you will be acceptable to God, and have him for your patron." David also further exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in the building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be free from all evils, for so they would enjoy instead of them peace and order, blessings with which God rewards such as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be built, they should put the ark in it, and the holy vessels; and he told them, that they would have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the chiefs of the people and to his son.

§ 3. David was now in years, and his body was become by time cold and numb, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians consulted together, they recommended that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and communicate heat to him, and remedy his numbness. Now a woman of superior beauty to all other women was found in the city (her name was Abishag), who, sleeping with the king, only communicated warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not have sexual intercourse with her. But of this virgin I shall speak more presently.

§ 4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful and tall young man, born to him by his wife Haggith. He was called Adonijah, and in disposition resembled

Absalom, and exalted himself hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to succeed David. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and had fifty men as outriders. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go even so far as to ask why he did so. Now Adonijah's partisans were Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah who was captain of the body-guards, and Shimei David's friend, and all the most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a feast outside the city, near the fountain that was in the king's park,[1] and had invited all his brothers except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the chiefs of the tribe of Judah; but had not invited to this feast either Zadok the high priest, or Nathan the prophet, or Benaiah the captain of the body-guards, or any of the opposite party. The matter was told to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, by Nathan the prophet, how Adonijah was king and David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go alone to David and remind him that he had sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but meantime Adonijah had already usurped the kingdom. He added that he would himself come after her, and when she had told the matter to the king, would confirm what she said. And Bathsheba hearkened to Nathan, and went in to the king, and prostrated herself before him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things as Nathan had suggested to her; and related the feast Adonijah had made, and who were invited by him, as Abiathar the high priest, and Joab the general, and all David's sons, except Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, that all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king. She begged him also to consider how, after his death, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her, and her son Solomon.

§ 5. Now, as Bathsheba was still speaking, the keepers

[1] In 1 Kings i. 9, the spring is called En-rogel; it is now known as the Virgin's Fountain, in the Kedron Valley.

of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had that day made Adonijah king, and delivered the kingdom to him, for he had made a splendid feast, and invited all the king's sons except Solomon, as also Joab the captain of the host [and Abiathar the high priest], "who are feasting with shouting and merriment, and praying that his kingdom may last for ever; but he has not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the body-guards; and it is but right that all should know whether this be done with your approbation." When Nathan had said this, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet went in. And when Bathsheba returned, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day." Then Bathsheba prostrated herself before him, and wished him a long life, and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and for Benaiah the captain of the body-guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain [called Gihon,[1]] and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to declare him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest and Nathan the prophet to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and to cry aloud, "May Solomon the king sit upon the royal throne for ever," that so all the people might know that he was declared king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning the kingdom, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews and the tribe of Judah religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed that God would be favourable to Solomon, they set Solomon without delay upon the royal mule, and escorted him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him back to the city

[1] Gihon is probably to be identified with Siloam.

again with acclamations and prayers that his kingdom might continue a long time; and when they had brought him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Thereupon all the people betook themselves to merriment and feasting, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and air echoed with the numerous instruments of music.

§ 6. Now when Adonijah and his guests heard this noise, they were greatly alarmed, and Joab, the captain of the host, said he was not pleased with that music nor the sound of the trumpets. And when the feast was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful and grave. And Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and hailed him as a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of King David; and both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the banquet, and fled everyone to their own homes. Adonijah also, being afraid of the king for what he had done, became a suppliant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was told Solomon that he had so done, and that he desired to receive assurances from him, that he would not bear malice against him for what he had done, nor inflict a severe punishment. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that he forgave him this offence, but said that if he were detected again in any attempt at revolution, he would be the author of his own punishment. So he sent and raised him up from his place of supplication. And when he went to the king, and prostrated himself before him, the king bade him go away to his own house, and have no suspicion of any harm, and desired him to show himself henceforward a good man, as it would be for his advantage.

§ 7. And David, wishing to declare his son king over all the people, called together to Jerusalem their rulers, and the priests and Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand from thirty years old to fifty, of whom he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and six thousand to be judges of the people and their

scribes, and four thousand as porters of the house of God, and as many as singers, to sing to the instruments which David had provided, as I said before. He divided them also into families, and when he had separated the priests from the tribe, he found of those priests twenty-four families, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one family should minister to God eight days, from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the families distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and all the rulers; and the family which came up first was written down first, and that which came up second as second, and so on to the twenty-fourth: and that settlement has remained to this day. He also made twenty-four divisions of the tribe of Levi, and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the offerings of the kings. He also ordained that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

§ 8. After this he divided the entire army into twelve parts, each with its leaders and captains of hundreds and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, who were ordered to wait on Solomon thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also set over every part as rulers such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He also set others to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the cattle, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention.

§ 9. When David had ordered all these offices in the manner just mentioned, he convoked the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were set over every work or property, and standing upon a very high platform, spoke to the multitude as follows. "My brothers and fellow-countrymen, I would have you know that I intended to build a house for God, and got together a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God forbade me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had had

on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, to build him a temple. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brothers, and received the kingdom from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not factious, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but accept him cheerfully for their lord, knowing that God has chosen him. For it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is matter for rejoicing when a brother has obtained that dignity, since the other brothers partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled, and that this happiness which he has promised to bestow upon king Solomon may spread over all the country, and continue therein for all time to come. And these promises will be sure, my son, and come to a happy end, if you show yourself to be a religious and righteous man, and an observer of the laws of your country; but if not, expect adversity upon disobedience to them."

§ 10. Now when the king had said this he left off, but gave to Solomon in the sight of them all the description and pattern of the building of the temple, of the foundations and of the lower and upper chambers, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; he also determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels. Moreover, he earnestly urged them with his words to show the utmost zeal in the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist Solomon, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to superintend the building of the temple and the government of the kingdom. He also showed that the work would be easy and not very laborious to them, because he had already prepared for it many talents of gold and more of silver, and timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds and all sorts of precious stones; and he said, that he would now give out of his own private income two hundred talents, and three hundred talents besides

of pure gold, for the most holy place, and cherubims for the chariot of God, to stand over and cover the ark. And when David had done speaking, there appeared great zeal among the rulers and priests and the tribe of Levi, who now contributed, and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand staters, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many myriad talents of iron. And if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and had it put among the treasures; of which Ialus, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

§ 11. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as well as David, who, when he saw the zeal and emulation of the rulers and priests and all the rest, began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned him as the ruler and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of the kingdom which he had given him. Besides this, he prayed for happiness for all the people, and for Solomon his son a sound and just mind, strengthened by all sorts of virtue, and then he commanded the people to bless God. Upon which they all fell down upon the ground, and worshipped God, and also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had had the kingdom. On the next day he presented as sacrifices to God a thousand calves, and as many rams and lambs, which they offered for burnt offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, slaying many myriad victims. And the king feasted all day with all the people, and they anointed Solomon the second time with the holy oil, and declared him king, and Zadok high priest of the whole people. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAP. XV.

The Charge David gave his Son Solomon on the Approach of his Death; also David's Death and Character.

§ 1.

A LITTLE time afterwards David fell ill by reason of old age, and perceiving that he was going to die, he called his son Solomon, and addressed him as follows: "I am now, my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, by the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go, from which it is impossible to return, or to know anything that is going on in this world. On which account I exhort you, as I am still alive, though very near to death, in the same manner as I formerly advised you, to be just to your subjects, and religious towards God, who has given you the kingdom, and to observe his commandments and laws, which he sent to us by Moses, and disregard them neither from favour nor flattery nor lust nor any other passion. For if you transgress the laws, you will lose the favour of God, and turn away his good providence from you in all things; but if you behave as you ought, and as I exhort you, you will preserve the kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but we ourselves shall for all ages. But remember the iniquity of Joab, the captain of the host, who slew two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner and Amasa the son of Jether, whose death avenge as shall seem good to you, for Joab has been too much for me, and more powerful than myself, and so has escaped punishment hitherto. I commend also to you the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom to gratify me you shall hold in great honour, and take great care of; for we do not begin the kindness, but only repay the debt which we owe their father, for what he did to me in my flight. As to Shimei the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after having cast many reproaches upon me in my flight, when I

was going to Mahanaim, met me at the Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing, seek now for some just occasion to punish him."

§ 2. When David had given these instructions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem over all the country. He was an excellent man, and endowed with all virtue necessary for a king, who had the safety of so many tribes committed to him. And he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and rushed foremost of all into dangers on behalf of his subjects, animating his soldiers to action by his own energy in fighting, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He had also very great ability in understanding and comprehending the present and future. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were in calamities, he was just and humane, which are good qualities peculiarly fit for kings, nor was he guilty of any crime in the exercise of such great authority except in the affair of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews or of other nations, ever did.

§ 3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the funeral pomp which kings are wont to be buried with: moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him; the quantity of which may be easily conjectured by what I shall now record. One thousand three hundred years afterwards Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, surnamed the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and wished to give him money to get him to raise the siege and draw off his army, having no other means of getting the money, opened a chamber in David's tomb, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and so caused the siege to be raised, as I have stated elsewhere. And many years after him Herod the king opened another chamber, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth

so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered their tomb. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID, TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.

CHAP. I.

How Solomon, when he had received the Kingdom, took off his Enemies.

§ 1.

I HAVE already treated in the preceding book of David and his virtue, and of the benefits he conferred upon his countrymen, of his wars also and battles which he managed with success, and then died an old man. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age (whom David had declared while he was alive lord of the people according to God's will), had taken over the kingdom and sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a happy conclusion, and that he might arrive at a great age, with his kingdom in the most prosperous condition possible.

§ 2. Now Adonijah, who had, even while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the kingdom, went to the king's mother Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her because he desired her assistance in anything, and bade him tell her if that were the case, for she would cheerfully afford it him, he began to say, that she herself knew that the kingdom was rightfully his, both on account of his priority of age and the wish of the multitude, though i

had been transferred to Solomon her son according to the will of God. He also said that he was contented to be a servant under him, and acquiesced in the present state of affairs, but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favour from his brother for him, by persuading him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but because his father was too old, he had not lain with her, and she was still a virgin. And Bathsheba very readily promised to afford him her assistance to bring this marriage about, both because the king would be willing to gratify him, and because she would press it upon him very earnestly. Accordingly, he went away hopeful of compassing this match, and Solomon's mother went at once to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised Adonijah upon his request to her. And when her son came forward to meet her and embraced her, and led her into the chamber where the royal throne was set, he sat down thereon, and bade them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. And when Bathsheba was sat down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I ask of thee, and do not treat me disagreeably or peevishly by a refusal." And when Solomon bade her lay her commands upon him, because it was his duty to grant her everything she should ask, and first complained somewhat that she did not speak with a firm expectation of obtaining what she asked, but seemed to have some fear of a denial, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

§ 3. But the king was greatly offended at this request, and sent away his mother, saying that Adonijah aimed at great things, and that he wondered that she did not ask him to yield up the kingdom to him as his elder brother, since she asked that he might marry Abishag, for he had potent friends in Joab the captain of the host and in Abiathar the priest. So he sent for Benaiah, the captain of the body-guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put you to death, because of the various hardships you endured with my father, and because of the ark which you removed with him, but I inflict he following punishment upon you, because you were one

of Adonijah's followers, and one of his party. Do not continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to your own town, and live in your own fields all your life, for you have offended so greatly, that it is not just that you should retain your office any longer." For the forementioned cause therefore the house of Ithamar was deprived of the high priesthood, as God had foretold to Eli the grandfather of Abiathar, and it was transferred to the family of Phinehas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phinehas, who lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar (of which family Eli was the first that received it), were as follows: Boccias, the son of Joseph the high priest, his son was Joatham, Joatham's son was Meraioth, Meraioth's son was Arophæus, Arophæus' son was Ahitub, and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

§ 4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the death of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to king Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger on account of his good will to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, supposing that he might so get safety to himself because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's idea was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to remove Joab from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat to make his defence. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there rather than in another place. And when Benaiah reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there, as he wished, and to inflict that punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly murdered, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that he himself and his father might be guiltless by Joab's death. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok high priest alone in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

§ 5. As to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build a house and dwell at Jerusalem, and live near

him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron, and if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. And, not content with this threat, he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. And Shimei said that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an order, and swore that he would do as he bade him, and he left his own city and made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants had run away from him, and were in Gath, he set out to bring them back. And when he returned back with them, the king heard of it, and was much displeased that he had neglected his commands, and what was more, had had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst thou not swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury; but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for thy abuse of my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately for their crimes, but that during all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." Then Benaiah at the king's command slew Shimei.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Wife of Solomon, and his Wisdom and Riches, and what he obtained of Hiram for the building of the Temple.

§ 1.

SOLOMON, having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, married the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and made the walls of Jerusalem much larger and stronger than they had been before, and thenceforward managed

public affairs very peaceably; nor was his youth any hindrance to justice or the observation of the laws, or the remembrance of the charges his father had given him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great exactness, such as might have been expected from aged men of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses, and he offered there a thousand burnt-offerings, and when he had done this, it seemed he had paid great honour to God, for that very night as he was asleep God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask what gifts he should give him as a reward for his piety. And Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, and what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not ask to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things generally esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and as the best gifts of God; but, he said, "Give me, O Lord, a sound mind and good understanding, whereby I may judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With this prayer God was well pleased, and promised to give him all those things besides that he had not mentioned in his choice, riches, glory, and above all victory over his enemies, and understanding and wisdom, such as no other, either king or ordinary person, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he was excellent. When Solomon heard this from God, he at once leaped out of his bed, and when he had worshipped him he returned to Jerusalem, and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his household.

§ 2. In these days a difficult case came before him, which it was very hard to determine. I think it necessary to state the matter about which the judgment was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult case Solomon had to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the

king's for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence on such questions. Two women who were professional harlots came to him, of whom she that seemed to have been wronged began to speak first, and said, "O king, I and this other woman dwell together in one room: now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour on the same day, and on the third day this woman overlaid her son and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep laid her dead son in my arms. Now when in the morning I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I carefully looked at it and found it was so. Then I demanded my son, and as I could not obtain him, I have had recourse, my lord, to your assistance; for as we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she impudently perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When she had told her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to what had been stated. And when she denied that she had done what she was charged with, and said that it was her child that was living, and her antagonist's child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgment should be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone contrived the following way to discover it. He bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child, and sent for one of his bodyguards, and commanded him to draw his sword, and to cut both the children into halves, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But mean time she that was the real mother of the living child cried out, and begged that he would not do so, but deliver the living child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life and sight of it, although it should be esteemed the other's child: but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous moreover that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from truth, he adjudged the

child to her that cried out to save it, for she was the real mother of it, and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was anxious to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this decision as a great sign and proof of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and, after that day, attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

§ 3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were as follows. Over the lot of Ephraim [1] was Ures; over the region of Bethlehem was Dioclerus: and Abinadad, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora [2] and the sea coast under him. The great plain [3] was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus, who also governed all the country as far as the Jordan. Gabares ruled over Gilead [4] and Gaulanitis,[5] as far as Mount Lebanon, and had under him sixty great and fenced cities. Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee as far as Sidon, and he also had married a daughter of Solomon, whose name was Basima. Banacates had the sea coast about Arce,[6] and Shaphat had mount Tabor, and Carmel, and Lower Galilee [as far as the river Jordan.] And one man was appointed over them throughout all this country. And Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin, and Gabares had the country beyond the Jordan. And over these again there was one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews and the tribe of Judah wonderfully increased when they betook themselves to husbandry and the cultivation of the land; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and also enjoyed abundantly the most desirable liberty, they were all busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

§ 4. The king appointed also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria and of the strange nations, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and they collected his

[1] The hill country south of *Nâblus*, Shechem. Compare the list of Solomon's officers in 1 Kings iv. 8-19, where some of the names are given in a different form. [2] Now *Tantûrah*.

[3] The plain of Esdrælon, now *Merj ibn 'Âmir*.

[4] Mount Gilead, east of the Jordan, see note, vol. i. p. 121.

[5] Now *Jaulân*. [6] Now *Tell 'Arka*, not far from Tripoli.

tribute from the nations. Now they contributed to the king's table for his dinner every day thirty cors of fine flour, and sixty of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred fat lambs; besides what was taken by hunting, as harts and buffaloes, birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by the foreigners every day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand. And besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, half of whom waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed about and dwelt in the royal villages: and the same officer who provided for the king's expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses, and carried it to the place where the king abode.

§ 5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients and was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to be beyond all men in understanding; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for ability, whose names I will not omit, as Ethan and Æman and Chalceus and Dardanus, the sons of Emaon. He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and five; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he spoke a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, and all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor did he omit inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and showed his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn the art which expels demons, which is useful and works cures for men. He composed charms also by which diseases are alleviated. And he left behind him forms of exorcisms, by which people drive away demons so that they never return: and this method of cure is of very great value unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, curing people possessed by demons in the presence of Vespasian and his sons and

captains and the whole of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was as follows: he put a ring that had under its seal one of those sorts of roots mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demoniac, and then drew the demon out through his nostrils as he smelt it: and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured the demon to return into him no more, still making mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he had composed. And Eleazar, wishing to persuade and show to the spectators that he had such a power, used to set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and so to let the spectators know that he had left the man. And when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was showed very manifestly; and that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be unknown to any people under the sun, I have been induced to speak about these matters.

§ 6. Now when Hiram king of Tyre had heard that Solomon had succeeded to his father's kingdom, he was very glad at it, for he was a friend of David. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him a letter, the contents of which are as follows.

Solomon to King Hiram.

"Know that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off overthrowing his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me. Wherefore I desire you to send some of your subjects with mine to mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting wood. As for wages to the woodmen, I will pay whatever price you shall fix."

§ 7. When Hiram had read this letter he was pleased with it: and wrote back the following answer to Solomon.

KING HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

"IT is right to bless God, that he has committed your father's government to you, who are a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition you are in, and will supply you with all things you write to me about; for when I have had cut down by my subjects many and large cedar and cypress trees, I will send them to the sea, and will order my subjects to make rafts, and to sail with them to whatever place in your country you shall desire, and leave them there, and then your subjects can carry them to Jerusalem. But take care in return for this timber to supply us with corn, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit an island."

§ 8. The copies of these letters are extant at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but also among the Tyrians, insomuch that if anyone would know the certainty about them, he may ask the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what I have narrated. I have said so much from a desire that my readers may know that I speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of plausible materials to deceive and please men at the same time; nor do I attempt to avoid examination, or desire men to believe me immediately; nor am I at liberty to depart from speaking truth (which is the proper commendation of an historian), and yet be blameless: but I insist upon no admission of what I say, unless I am able to manifest its truth by demonstration and cogent testimony.

§ 9. Now as soon as this letter was brought him from the king of Tyre, king Solomon commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and bartered with him as he asked, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cors of wheat, and as many baths of oil. The bath contains seventy-two sextarii. He also sent him the same measure of wine. And the friendship between Hiram and Solomon increased through this more and more; and they swore

to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people of thirty thousand labourers; whose work he rendered easy to them by skilfully dividing it among them; for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon for a month, and then return home and rest for two months, until the time when the remaining twenty thousand had finished their month each; and so it came to pass that each ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month. And Adoram was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these three thousand three hundred were overseers over the rest. He also enjoined them to hew large stones for the foundations of the temple, and to shape and unite them together in the quarry first, and then bring them to the city. This was done not only by the workmen of our own country, but by the artificers whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

Of the Building of the Temple.

§ 1.

SOLOMON began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and one thousand and twenty-two years after Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and one thousand four hundred and forty years after the deluge. And from Adam, the first man created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. And the year in which the temple began to be built, was just the eleventh year of the reign of king Hiram; and from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

§ 2. Now king Solomon laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, such as would resist the force of time, which were to fit in with the earth, and become a basis and sure foundation for the structure which was to be erected upon it; they were to be so strong in order to sustain with ease that vast pile and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent. They erected it of white stone quite up to the roof; its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its proportions, so that the entire height of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. It faced east. As to the porch, they built it in front of the temple; its length was twenty cubits to match the breadth of the house; and it was ten cubits in breadth, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that one might pass from one into another. Every one of these rooms was five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but twenty in height. Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal both in their proportions and number; so that they reached a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and indeed every one of these rooms had a roof of its own, not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, so that the middle walls being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer; and as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, and had them gilt

over, so that the whole temple shone, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. And the whole structure of the temple was with great skill wrought of polished stones, laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that to the spectators there appeared no sign of any hammer or other instrument of architecture, but it seemed as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the fitting in of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural than to have arisen from the action of tools. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple by a spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall; for it had no large door at the east end as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple both within and without with boards of cedar, that were fastened together by thick iron clamps, so as to be of the nature of a support and strength to the building.

§ 3. And when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house, which was twenty cubits square, to be the most holy place, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place in the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold that had various carvings upon it. He also had veils of blue and purple and scarlet, of the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, to hang before those doors. He also dedicated for the most holy place, whose breadth was twenty cubits and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits: and they had each of them two wings stretched out five cubits; he so set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the south wall of the most holy place, and with another the north wall; their other wings, which joined each other, were a covering to the ark, which was placed between them; but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold, and he added doors to the gate of the temple in proportion to the height of the wall, and in breadth twenty cubits, and to

them he attached gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, either internal or external, not overlaid with gold. He had also curtains drawn over these doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place. But the door of the porch had nothing of the kind.

§ 4. And Solomon sent for an artificer from Tyre, whose name was Hiram, who was of the tribe of Naphtali on the mother's side (for she was of that tribe), but his father was Uriah, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skilful in all sorts of work, but his chief skill lay in working in gold and silver and brass, and he did all the curious work about the temple as the king wished. This Hiram also made two pillars of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four fingers, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their circumference twelve cubits, and there was cast with each of their chapiters lily work, that stood upon the pillars, and was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work, interwoven with small palms made of brass, which covered the lily work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates in two rows. One of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right, and called it Jachin, and the other he set at the left, and called it Boaz.

§ 5. He also cast a brazen sea whose figure was that of a hemisphere. This brazen vessel was called a sea from its size, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm: its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it, and the pillar was one cubit in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen facing the four winds of heaven, three towards each wind, having their hinder parts so depressed that the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea was capable of containing three thousand baths.

§ 6. He also made ten brazen quadrangular bases for as many lavers: the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. The work was turned, and contrived as follows: there were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner, that had the sides of the base fitted to them on each

quarter: they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver], upon which was engraven, sometimes a lion, sometimes a bull or an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated upon four wheels, which were also cast, and had naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Anyone who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they fitted to the felloes, would wonder at them. Their construction was as follows: certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore part of the eagle and the lion, which were so skilfully joined that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engraved palm-trees. Such was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass lavers, each of which contained forty baths, and its height was four cubits, and its edges were equi-distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Mechonoth; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple, which was the side towards the north, and as many on the right side towards the south, but facing east: the same way he also set the brazen sea, which he filled with water and assigned for washing the hands and feet of the priests when they entered into the temple, and were to ascend to the altar, and the lavers were to cleanse the entrails and feet of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings.

§ 7. Hiram also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, and of such brass as was in brightness and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, and one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God: and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were made in another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of

gold were twenty thousand, and those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day-time according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it on the north side of the temple over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in the house which was forty cubits long, before the veil of the most holy place wherein the ark was to be set.

§ 8. The king also had eighty thousand pouring vessels made, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials; and of golden dishes, to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, there were sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures of Moses called Hin and Assaron, there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense into the temple, were twenty thousand: the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments which belonged to the high priests, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote the name of God, was only one, and has remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest, and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses: and two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers that were Levites. And he made forty thousand musical instruments such as were invented for singing hymns, called Nablæ and Cinyræ [psalteries and harps], which were made of a compound of gold and silver.

§ 9. Solomon had all these things made for the honour of God, with great expenditure and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed round about the temple a partition, which in our tongue we call Gison, but it is called θριγκὸς

by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; it was to keep the multitude from coming into the temple, and to signify that it was a place that was open only to the priests. He also built outside this a temple, in figure quadrangular, and erected for it great and broad porticoes entered by very high gates, each of which faced one of the four winds, and was shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure and observant of the laws. But he made this outside temple a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, it is hardly credited when seen; for when he had filled up with earth great valleys (which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bent down to see them, without pain,) and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it on a level with the top of the mountain on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed it also with a building of a double row of porticoes, which stood on high pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished with fret-work; and he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAP. IV.

How Solomon removed the Ark to the Temple, and made Supplication to God and offered public Sacrifices to him.

§ 1.

WHEN king Solomon had finished these works and large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and accomplished all this in seven years, and had given proof of his riches and zeal, insomuch that anyone who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished, and would be surprised that so much could be finished in so short a time, short, I mean, if com-

pared with the greatness of the work, he wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God to it. And when this invitation to the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was carried round to everybody, it was the seventh month before they assembled together, which month is by our countrymen called Thisri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetæus. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and important feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration in the sacrifices to God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself and all the people and the Levites went before, rendering the ground moist with drink-offerings and the blood of a great many victims, and burning an immense quantity of incense; and that till the very air itself everywhere round about was so full of these odours, that it reached in a most agreeable manner persons at a great distance, and was a token of God's presence, and, as men thought, of his habitation in this newly built and consecrated place; and they did not grow weary either of singing hymns or of dancing until they reached the temple. And in this manner did they bring the ark. But when they were to transfer it to the most holy place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only the priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embraced it with their wings, for so were they framed by the artificer, and covered it as under a tent or dome. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, and which were inscribed upon them; but they set the candlestick and table and the golden altar in the temple before the most holy place, in the very same positions which they occupied till that time in the tabernacle, when[1] they offered the daily sacrifices. And Solomon set the brazen altar

[1] For καὶ I read ὡς. It is well known how frequently these two words are transposed in Greek MSS. This arises from an abbreviation for both, which is very similar.

before the temple over against the door, that when the door was opened it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the costliness of the sacrifice, might be thence descried. And they gathered together all the rest of the vessels and put them within the temple.

§ 2. Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark and had gone out, there came down suddenly a thick cloud, which stood there, and spread itself in a gentle manner through the temple; it was a cloud diffused and temperate, not a rough one such as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place that the priests could not discern one another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious token of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. And those present were intent upon this thought. And king Solomon rose up, (for he was sitting before,) and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive and fit for him to give. "Thou hast [he said] an eternal house, O Lord, and such an one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know thou pervadest the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, nor art thou contained within these limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and called it by thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice and perform sacred rites, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present and not far off. For as thou seeest and hearest all things, when it pleases thee to dwell here, thou dost not fail to be very near to all men, but especially art thou present to those that pray to thee by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he turned his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented to them the power and providence of God, how he had showed all things that were come to pass to David his father, and most had indeed already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and foretold what he should be called before he was born, and how, when he should be king after his father's death, he should build him a temple. And as they saw this accomplished according to his prediction,

he asked them to bless God, and believing in him from what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of anything that he had promised for the future for their happiness, as if it would not come to pass.

§ 3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and, lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not indeed possible by what men can do to return thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but as we have been made superior, O Lord, to all other living creatures by thee, it is our bounden duty to bless thy majesty, and return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people. For with what other thing can we better appease thee, when thou art angry with us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice; which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards. I therefore now return my thanks thereby in the first place for my father, whom thou didst raise from obscurity unto so great glory, and in the next place for myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised me up to this very day. And I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem, and to augment our house for all time, as thou didst promise David my father, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom should continue, and that his posterity should inherit it for ten thousand generations. Do not therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my offspring that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy spirit come down and dwell in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens and the immensity of the things that are therein are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so: but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, so that it shall never be sacked by our enemies, and to take care of it as thine own possession. And if ever this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague because of their sin, as

with dearth or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou wont to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they gather themselves together and take refuge all of them in this temple, beseeching thee and begging of thee to deliver them, then do thou, being within this house, hear their prayers, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions. Moreover I implore this help of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither even from the ends of the world, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them and hear their prayer. For so all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee, and that we are not ourselves of an unhumane nature, nor hostile to such as are not of our own people, but are willing that thy help should be given to all men in common, and that the enjoyment of thy benefits should be bestowed upon them."

§ 4. When Solomon had said this, and prostrated himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar. and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most clearly discovered that God had with pleasure accepted all his sacrifice. For a fire came running out of the air, and darting with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, which licked up and consumed all the sacrifice. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a proof that God would abide in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. And the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having tokens of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, owing to their righteousness and religious worship and keeping the commandments which God had given them by Moses, because so the Hebrew nation would be happy, indeed the most blessed of all mankind. He exhorted them also to remember, that by what means they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and

make them greater and more than they were at present; for they ought not to suppose only that they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but also that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come, for it is not so great a thing for men to acquire something that they want, as to keep what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin whereby it may be lost.

§ 5. When the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he broke up the assembly, having completed the sacrifices both for himself and for the Hebrews, for he sacrificed twenty-two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. For the temple did then first taste of victims, and all the Hebrews with their wives and children feasted therein; moreover the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles before the temple for twice seven days, feasting together with all the people.

§ 6. When all these solemnities were abundantly performed, and nothing omitted that concerned the worship of God, the king dismissed the people, and they went every one to their homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them, and praying God to preserve Solomon as their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing and merrymaking, and singing hymns to God, so that the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the tediousness of their journey home. For when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices and festivals, they returned every one to their own cities. And a dream appeared to the king in his sleep, and informed him that God had heard his prayers, and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it, if his posterity and all the people should be righteous. As for the king himself, if he abode by the advice of his father, he would advance him to an immense degree of happiness, and his posterity of the tribe of Judah should be kings of that country for ever: but if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them and turn away to

the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off root and branch, and would neither suffer any remnant of his family to continue, nor would preserve the people of Israel any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; and would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple, which was now built, to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies, and their city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and would make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, so that their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire why the Hebrews, who had before been advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him; and the answer that should be made by the remnant of the people should be their confessing their sins and transgression of the laws of their country. We have it transmitted to us in writing, that God did thus speak to Solomon in his sleep.

CHAP. V.

How Solomon built himself a royal Palace, very costly and splendid; and how he solved the Riddles which were sent him by Hiram.

§ 1.

AFTER the building of the temple, which, as I have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years. For he was not equally zealous in the building of his palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated in the work, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years; but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, not only because its materials had not been got ready so

long beforehand, nor so carefully prepared, but because it was only an habitation for kings and not for God, took longer time to finish. However, it was a magnificent edifice, and one that suited the prosperity of the Hebrews and their king; but it is necessary for me to describe the entire structure and arrangement of it, that so those that light upon this book may conjecture and form some idea of its magnitude.

§ 2. The house was a large and handsome building, supported by many pillars, and Solomon built it to contain a great many persons for hearing cases, and taking cognizance of suits, for it was large enough to hold a great many men, who might assemble to hear cases determined. It was an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars which were all of cedar, and its roof was of the Corinthian order, with doors of equal size, and three-grooved panels, so that the building was at once strong and ornamental. There was also another house placed in the middle, it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, and there was a temple opposite to it raised upon massive pillars; in which temple there was a magnificent hall, where the king sat in judgment, to which was joined another house, that was built for the queen. There were other smaller edifices for food and sleep after public affairs were over, and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stone that was sawn and of great value, such as is dug out of the earth to ornament temples, and to add to the show of royal palaces, making the mines whence it is dug famous. Now the curious workmanship of this stone was in three rows, and the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, wherein were represented trees and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so wonderfully fine, that you would think they moved. But the other part up to the roof was plastered over, and embroidered with colours and pictures. Solomon built moreover other edifices for pleasure, as also very long porticoes situated in an agree-

able part of the palace, and among them a most glorious dining-room for feastings and revellings, full of gold and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the convenience of the guests, and all the vessels were made of gold. Indeed it is hard to reckon up the magnitude and variety of the royal apartments, how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of a size inferior to those, how many that were underground and secret, the beauty of those that enjoyed the fresh air, and groves with the most delightful landscapes for avoiding heat and for refreshment of the body. And to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone and cedar wood and gold and silver, and adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with similar stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious size of ivory, constructed on a dais, with six steps to it; on every one of which stood at each end of the step two lions, two other lions standing above also; and at the seat of the throne, hands came out and received the king; and when he reclined in it, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back, and all was fastened together with gold.

§ 3. When Solomon had completed both temple and palace in twenty years' time, as Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he himself requited Hiram with rich presents; sending him annually corn and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as I have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; and when Hiram went to them, and looked at them, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon, that he did not want the cities, and from that time those cities were called the land of Cabul,[1] which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phœnicians, denotes what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent hard and

[1] The 'land of Cabul' was probably near the modern *Kâbûl*.

enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and intelligent was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him, but he conquered them all by reasoning, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phœnicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram succeeded him in the kingdom, and lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in the temple of Zeus. He also went and cut down timber on the mountain called Libanus for the roofs of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he built both the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte: and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Iycaei who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned. Under this king lived Abdemon's younger son, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain." Dius also makes mention of him, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Olympian Zeus, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them, and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down timber for the building of temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, and he who could not solve them should pay money to him that did, and that Hiram accepted the conditions, and when he was not able to solve the riddles [proposed by Solomon], he paid a great deal of money for his fine: but that afterwards he did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdemon,[1] a man of Tyre:

[1] Dius and Menander state Hiram's riddle-guesser a little differently. Their accounts will be harmonized if we consider that Abdemon's son had the same name as his father. But the matter is of little moment.

and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This is the account of Dius.

CHAP. VI.

How Solomon fortified the City of Jerusalem, and built great Cities: and how he brought some of the Canaanites into Subjection, and entertained the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.

§ 1.

NOW when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of towers and other defences for their security (for he thought the walls that surrounded Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city), he repaired them, and made them higher by great towers. He also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, as Hazor[1] and Megiddo,[2] and the third Gazar,[3] which had indeed belonged to the Philistines, but Pharaoh the king of Egypt had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by storm, and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he razed it to the ground, and gave it as a present to his daughter who had married Solomon. So the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, or any reverses such as sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it; Bethhoron[4] was the name of one of them, and Baalath[5] was the name of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these for enjoyment and pleasure, such as had naturally a good temperature of air, and were agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there

[1] Probably the northern Hazor, near Kedesh Napthali.

[2] Now *el-Leǰǰûn*, on the plain of Esdraelon. [3] *Tell Jezar.*

[4] According to 1 Kings ix. 17. Beth-horon the nether, now *Beit 'Ur et-Tahta.*

[5] Now *Bel'aîn*, about two and a quarter miles north of Beth-horon the nether.

a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper Syria, and one day's journey from the Euphrates, and six days' journey from the great Babylon. Now, the reason why this city lay so remote from the inhabited parts of Syria was that below there is no water to be had, and that in that place only are there springs and wells of water. When he had therefore built this city, and thrown round it very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by to this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks call it Palmyra.

§ 2. So Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. Now if any people should ask why all the kings of Egypt from Minaeus, who built Memphis, and lived many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, during an interval of more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took that title from one Pharaoh who lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them, to cure their ignorance, and to make the reason of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king.[1] I suppose they had other names in their childhood, but that, when they became kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority. Thus also the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were called Ptolemies from their first king. The Roman emperors also are from their birth called by other names, but are called Cæsars because their empire and dignity imposes that name upon them, and so they do not

[1] This signification of the name Pharaoh appears to be true. But what Josephus adds presently, that 'no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law,' hardly agrees with our copies, which have long afterwards the names of 'Pharaoh-nechoh,' and 'Pharaoh-hophrah,' 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jer. xliv. 30, besides the frequent mention of the name Pharaoh in the prophets. However, Josephus himself, in his own speech to the Jews, Jewish War, v. 9, § 4, speaks of Nechao, 'who was also called Pharaoh,' as the name of the king of Egypt with whom Abraham was concerned: of which name Nechao we have elsewhere no mention till the days of Josiah, but only of Pharaoh. And indeed it must be confessed, that here, and § 5, we have more mistakes made by Josephus, relating to the kings of Egypt, and to the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia whom he supposes to have come to see Solomon, than almost anywhere else in all the Antiquities.—W.

continue in the names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus,[1] when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Minaeus, who built Memphis,[2] did not tell us their names, because they were all in common called Pharaoh; for when after their death a queen reigned, he calls her by her name Nicaulis, thereby declaring, that as the male kings had the same name, while a woman could not have the same, he did therefore set down the name which she could not by nature have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name, and that it was after that time when the fore-mentioned queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon. As to her I shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things to prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

§ 3. King Solomon also subdued the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted, those, I mean, that dwelt in mount Lebanon and as far as the city of Hamath,[3] and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic work, and till the ground. For none of the Hebrews were slaves, (nor was it reasonable, when God had brought so many nations under their power, that they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life rather than them,) but all went armed to war with chariots and horses rather than lead the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty overseers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted them.

§ 4. Moreover the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, at a certain place called Ezion-Geber:[4] it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the

[1] The largest city of Caria, now *Bûdrûm*.
[2] Now *Mitrahamy*, on the left bank of the Nile above Cairo. [3] *Hama*.
[4] The exact position of Ezion-Geber at the head of the gulf of *'Akabah* is not known.

city of Eloth.[1] This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping in consequence of the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent there a sufficient number of pilots and men skilful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave command that they should sail with his stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Land of Gold, (which belongs to India,) to fetch him gold. And when they had collected there four hundred talents, they returned to the king again.

§ 5. There lived in those days a woman who was queen of Egypt and Ethiopia,[2] a great student of philosophy, and on other accounts also one to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him, and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to go to him. For being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by bare hearsay (for reports thus heard are likely enough to be false, as they wholly depend on the credit of the relators), she resolved to visit him, especially in order to test his wisdom by propounding questions of very great difficulty, and entreating that he would solve their hidden meaning. So she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and rich equipage; for she brought with her camels laden with gold and with several sorts of sweet spices and precious stones. Now the king in his kind reception of her showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than anybody could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than she had heard by report beforehand; and especially was

[1] Eloth or Elath is the present *'Ailah* or *'Akabah*, at the head of the gulf of *'Akabah*.

[2] That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabæa in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose, now generally agreed. And since Sabæa is well known to be a country near the sea, south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judæa also; and since our Saviour calls this queen, 'the queen of the south,' and says, 'she came from the utmost parts of the earth,' Matth. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31, which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubt in the matter. —W.

she surprised at the fineness and largeness of the royal palace, and not less at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had shown great wisdom therein. But she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of the king's daily table, and its preparation and serving, and at the apparel of his servants that waited, and their skilful and decorous attendance: nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful diligence which the priests and Levites displayed in connection with them. As she saw all this happening every day, she was in the greatest wonder imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and owned in her speech that she was overcome with wonder at the things I have related, and said; "All things indeed, O king, that come to our knowledge by report, come with uncertainty; but as to those good things that are yours, both what you yourself possess, I mean wisdom and prudence, and what your kingdom gives you, certainly the fame that came to us was no falsity, it was not only a true report, but it described your happiness as much less considerable than I now see it to be before my eyes. For report only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so much make known the value of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and the being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, because of the multitude and grandeur of the things I heard, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly I deem the Hebrew people, as well as your servants and friends, happy, who enjoy your presence, and hear your wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God, who has so loved this country, and those that dwell therein, as to make you king over them."

§ 6. When the queen had thus shown by her words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was also made known by various presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices, and precious stones. They say also that we owe the root

of the balsam, which our country still produces, to this lady's gift. Solomon also gave her in return many good things, especially bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she asked for which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own disposition, so did he show the greatness of his soul by bestowing on her whatever she herself desired of him. And when this queen of Egypt and Ethiopia had obtained what I have already given an account of, and had given as presents to the king what she had brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

CHAP. VII.

How Solomon grew rich, and fell madly in love with Women, and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Hadad and Jeroboam against him. Concerning the Death of Solomon.

§ 1.

ABOUT the same time there were brought to the king from the country called the Land of Gold precious stones and pine trees, and these trees be made use of for propping up the temple and the palace, and also as the materials of musical instruments, harps and psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood that was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which get that name from the merchants, who so call them to dazzle purchasers; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig-tree, but whiter and more shining. I have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference of these sorts of wood, or unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree, and I thought it both seasonable and kind to mankind, when I mentioned the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference.

§ 2. Now the weight of gold that was brought the king was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that

sum what was brought by the merchants, or what the governors and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and had them taken and put into the house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold and precious stones for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other numerous vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then sold or bought for silver. For the king had many ships which lay in the sea of Tarsus;[1] these he commanded to carry all sorts of merchandise to the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold was brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes. The voyage, going and returning, took three years.

§ 3. And there went a great fame all round the neighbouring countries, proclaiming the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, insomuch that all kings everywhere were desirous to see him, not giving credit to what was reported on account of its seeming almost incredible; they also showed the regard they had for him by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find likely to please the king's eyes from their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to the chariots and horses which he had before by those that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred (for he had a thousand before), and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand (for he had twenty thousand before). These horses also were so trained to make a fine appearance and run swiftly, that no others could upon comparison with them appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all, and their swiftness was incomparable. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age,

[1] Tarsus in Cilicia, now *Tersûs*. According to 1 Kings x. 22, Solomon "had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram."

and being also eminent for their stature and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the gold in the sun. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men (who were in armour and fitted with bows) dressed in a white garment, and so used to go out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem called Etham,[1] very pleasant from its fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water;[2] there did he use to go out in the morning perched aloft in his chariot.

§ 4. Now Solomon had divine sagacity and zeal in all things, and was very fond of having things done in an elegant manner: so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a highway of black stone along the road that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to make the road very easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also divided his chariots and disposed them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, (still, however, keeping a few about his own person,) and those cities he called the cities of his chariots. And the king made silver as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar-trees, which did not grow there before, in the plains of Judæa, that they were like sycamore-trees for abundance. He also commissioned the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise to sell him chariots with a pair of horses for six hundred drachmæ of silver each, and he sent

[1] Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about seven miles from Jerusalem, where Solomon rode so often in state, be not those alluded to, Eccles. ii. 5, 6, where he says, "He made him gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits; he made him pools of water, to water the wood that bringeth forth trees;" and to the finest part whereof he seems to allude, when, in the Canticles, he compares his spouse to a 'garden enclosed;' to a 'spring shut up;' to a 'fountain sealed,' chap. iv. 12 (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, pages 87, 88), cannot now be certainly determined, but may be very probably conjectured.—W.

[2] Probably the village *Urtâs*, in the valley of the same name, south of Bethlehem. The name is retained in *'Aïn 'Atân*, not far from the village.

them as presents to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond the Euphrates.

§ 5. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings and the best beloved of God, and exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet he did not persevere in this happy state till he died, but forsook the observation of the law of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to my foregoing account of him. For he grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on his sexual appetite, nor was he satisfied with the women of his own country alone, but he married many wives out of foreign nations, as Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites, and transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people, and also began to worship their gods, which he did to gratify his wives, and out of affection for them. Our legislator suspected this very thing when he admonished us beforehand that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs and apostatize from our own, and should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into blind passion, and regarded not these admonitions. For when he had married seven hundred wives,[1] the daughters of princes and eminent persons, besides the king of Egypt's daughter, and had also three hundred concubines, he was soon governed by them till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this proof of his kindness and affection to them, namely to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew in years, and his reason became too weak in process of time to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country, he still more neglected his own God, and continued to regard the gods of his strange wives. Nay, even before this happened, he sinned and fell into error about the observation of the law, when he made the images of brazen

[1] These 700 wives, or the daughters of great men, and the 300 concubines, the daughters of the ignoble, make 1,000 in all; and are, I suppose, those very 1,000 women, intimated elsewhere by Solomon himself, when he speaks of his not having found one [good] woman among that very number, Eccles. vii. 28.—W.

oxen that supported the brazen sea,[1] and the images of lions about his own throne, although it was impious so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had in his father a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him because of his piety towards God, nor did he imitate him, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father, so he died ingloriously. For a prophet came soon to him, who was sent by God, and told him that his wicked actions were not concealed from God, and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done, that the kingdom indeed should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for David's sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city Jerusalem, wherein he wished to have a temple.

§ 6. When Solomon heard this he was grieved, and greatly confounded at this change into so bad a state from almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired. Nor did much time elapse after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Hadad, who had the following reason for his enmity against him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land

[1] Josephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon, who, in making the cherubims, and these twelve brazen oxen, seems to have done no more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all given David by divine inspiration. And although God gave no direction for the lions that adorned his throne, yet Solomon does not seem thereby to have broken any law of Moses; for although the Pharisees and latter rabbins have extended the second commandment to forbid the very making of any image, though without any intention to have it worshipped, yet I do not suppose that Solomon so understood it, or that it ought to be so understood. The making any other altar for worship, but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses, Antiq. iv. 8, § 5, yet did not the two tribes and a half offend, when they made an altar for a memorial only, Josh. xxii., Antiq. v. 1, § 26, 27.—W.

of Edom for six months, and destroyed all the men that were grown and able to bear arms, this Hadad alone escaped, and went to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and gave him a house to dwell in, and land to supply him with food, and when he was grown up, loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes, to wife, by whom he had a son who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he went to Pharaoh, and begged that he would permit him to return to his own country; upon which the king asked him what it was that he wanted, and what hardships he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And though he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to let him go, he did not then, but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse on account of his forementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad went to Edom by Pharaoh's permission. And as he was not able to make the people revolt from Solomon, for Edom was kept under by many garrisons, and a rising could not take place with safety, he removed thence and went into Syria; and there he lit upon one Rezon, who had run away from Adrazar, king of Sophene,[1] his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, as he had already a band of robbers about him. Then he went up the country, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and plundered it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered at the hand of Hadad.

§ 7. One also of Solomon's own nation rose up against him, namely Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was full of ambition, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother, and when Solomon saw that he was of a noble and bold disposition, he made him the overseer of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he superintended those works so well, that the king

[1] Aram-Zobah, to the eastward of Cœlesyria.

approved of his behaviour, and gave him as a reward for the same the military command over the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet from the city of Shiloh,[1] whose name was Ahijah, met him, and saluted him, and when he had taken him a little aside to a place out of the way, where there was no other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bade Jeroboam take ten of them, and prophesied to him, "This is the will of God, he will break up the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe with that which is next it to his son, because of the promise made to David, and will give ten tribes to you, because Solomon has sinned against him, and given himself up to women and their gods. As, therefore, you know the reason why God has changed his mind and is alienated from Solomon, try to be righteous, and keep the laws, because the greatest of all rewards is proposed to you for your piety and honour to God, namely, to be as greatly exalted as you know David was."

§ 8. So Jeroboam was elated by the words of the prophet, and being a young man of warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet; and when he had his military command, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavoured to persuade the people to revolt from Solomon, and to make a disturbance, and transfer the kingdom to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to arrest and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of this beforehand, and fled to Shishak the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon, by which means he gained these two advantages, that he suffered no harm from Solomon, and was preserved for the kingdom. And Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four, and he was buried at Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness and riches and wisdom, excepting that, when he was growing into years, he was deluded by women and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I propose fully to enter into on another occasion.

[1] *Seilûn.*

CHAP. VIII.

How, upon the death of Solomon, the People forsook his Son Rehoboam, and elected Jeroboam King over the ten Tribes.

§ 1.

NOW when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam, (who was by an Ammonitish wife, whose name was Naamah,) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately to Egypt, and recalled Jeroboam; and when he was come to them to the city Shechem,[1] Rehoboam went to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, while they were gathered together there. So the rulers of the people and Jeroboam went to him and besought him to relax the servitude imposed on them, and to be milder than his father, for they had borne under his father a heavy yoke, and said they would then be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under a milder despotism more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them to come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to suspicion at once, since he had not given them a favourable answer immediately, for they thought he should have given them a kind and gentle answer off-hand, especially as he was but young. However, they thought that his deliberation about it, and the fact that he did not give them a denial on the spot, afforded them some good hope of success.

§ 2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and considered with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the people; upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and such as knew the temper of multitudes. They advised him to speak kindly to the people, and more in a popular way than with the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby make them submit to him with good-will, it being most agreeable to subjects that their

[1] *Nâblus.*

kings should be affable and put themselves almost upon the level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable advice, (it was so at least at this time, when he was to be made king,) God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be rejected by him. So he called for the young men, who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them say what they thought he should do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people, (for neither their youth, nor God himself, suffered them to discern what was best,) that his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him, for if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would chastise them with scorpions.[1] The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his kingdom to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the people were come together to hear his answer on the third day, all were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear something of a kind nature, but he neglected the advice of his friends, and answered as the young men had counselled him. Now this happened according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

§ 3. By these words the people were struck as it were by iron, and were as grieved at what was said as if they had already felt the effects of it, and felt great indignation at the king, and all cried out aloud and said that they had no longer any relation to David or his posterity after that day. And they said further that they would leave to Rehoboam only the temple which his father had built, and they threatened to forsake him. Nay they were so bitter and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, who was over the tribute, to pacify them and render them milder, and

[1] By scorpions is not here meant that small animal so called, which was never used in correction, but either a shrub with sharp prickles like the stings of scorpions, such as our furze bush, or else some terrible sort of whip of the like nature. See Hudson's and Spanheim's notes here.—W.

urge them to forgive him if he had said to them anything that was rash or peevish owing to the impetuosity of youth, they would not listen to him, but threw stones at him and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by the stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should actually lose his life too, so he got immediately into his chariot and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribes of Judah and Benjamin elected him king: but the rest of the tribes revolted from the house of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be their ruler. Upon this, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great meeting of the two tribes that had submitted to him, and intended to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men of his army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden by God through the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war, for he said that it was not right that fellow-countrymen should fight against one another, and that this revolt of the people was according to the purpose of God. So he did not set out. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which I shall relate the actions of Rehoboam the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the order of the history throughout.

§ 4. Jeroboam then built him a palace in the city of Shechem, and dwelt there. He also built him another at a city called Penuel.[1] And as the feast of tabernacles was now near at hand, Jeroboam considered that, if he should permit the people to go and worship God at Jerusalem, and celebrate the festival there, they would possibly repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple and worship of God there performed, and would leave him and return to their first king; and if so, he would run risk of losing his own life. So he invented the following contrivance. He made two golden calves, and built two little temples for them, one in the city of Bethel,[2] and the other in Dan,[3] which last was at the fountains of the lesser Jordan, and he put the calves into the little temples in the fore-

[1] On the east side of Jordan, probably on the northern slope of *Jebel Osh'a;* the exact site is not known.

[2] *Beitîn.* [3] *Tell el-Kâdy.*

mentioned cities. And when he had called the ten tribes together, over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in the following words:—"I suppose, my fellow-countrymen, that you know this, that every place has God in it, nor is there any one definite place in which he is, but he everywhere hears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right to force you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden calves to represent God; one of them I have consecrated in the city of Bethel, and the other in Dan, that those of you that dwell nearest those cities may go to them and worship God there. And I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no need of the tribe of Levi or of the sons of Aaron; and let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a calf and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest did." Jeroboam in saying this deluded the people, and made them revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners and fell into captivity. But I shall relate these things in their proper place.

§ 5. When the feast was just at hand in the seventh month, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as the two tribes celebrated it in Jerusalem. Accordingly, he built an altar before the calf, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but as he was going to offer the sacrifices and the burnt-offerings in the sight of all the people, a prophet sent by God, whose name was Jadon, came to him from Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, spoke as follows: "God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall sacrifice upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and shall burn upon thee the bones of these deceivers of the people, these impostors and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall be

so, I foretell a sign to them that shall soon come to pass. This altar shall be rent in pieces immediately, and all the fat of the victims shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bade them arrest Jadon; but the hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in to him again, for it was become withered, and hung down as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was rent in pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. Then the king understood that he was a man of truth and had a divine foreknowledge, and entreated him to pray to God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. And the king having his hand restored to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to dine with him; but Jadon said that he dare not come into his house, nor taste of bread or water in that city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do, as also to go back by the way which he came, for he said he was to return by another way. And the king wondered at the self-control of the man, but was himself in fear, suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse from what had been predicted to him.

CHAP. IX.

How Jadon the Prophet was persuaded by a lying Prophet, and returned to Bethel, and was afterwards slain by a Lion. Also what words the wicked Prophet made use of to persuade the King, and thereby alienated his Mind from God.

§ 1.

NOW there was a certain wicked old man in that city who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam held in great esteem, though deceived by him and his flattering words. This man was bed-ridden at this time by reason of the infirmities of old age; however, he was informed by his sons of the prophet that had come from Jerusalem,

and of the signs done by him; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been withered, at the prophet's prayer he had it restored again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger would be held in better esteem by the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him, and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass at once, and to make all ready that he might go out. And as they made haste to do what they were commanded, he got upon the ass, and followed after the prophet, and overtook him as he was resting under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, and first saluted him, and then blamed him because he had not come to his house and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said that God had forbidden him to taste food with any one in that city, he replied, "Certainly God did not forbid you to dine at my table, for I am a prophet as you are, and worship God in the same manner as you do, and am now come sent by him to bring you to my house, and make you my guest." And Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner and merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands, and told him what that punishment should be; for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by whom he should be torn in pieces, so that he should not be buried in the sepulchres of his fathers. And this came to pass, I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon, as one that had been convicted of lying. And as Jadon was returning to Jerusalem, a lion attacked him, and pulled him off his beast, and slew him, yet did not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him and guarded him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body back to Bethel, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him, for he said that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true: and that, if he were buried with him, he would receive no injurious treatment after his death, as their

bones would not then be distinguishable apart. And when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and impious man, he went to Jeroboam, and said to him, "Why ever were you disturbed at the words of that silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened to the altar and his own hand, and gave Jadon the name of a truly divine man and excellent prophet, he endeavoured by a wicked trick to weaken that opinion of his, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, to shake their reality. For he attempted to persuade him that his hand was numbed by the labour it had undergone in lifting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting awhile it returned to its usual condition again; and that, as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne a great many heavy sacrifices, and was accordingly rent in pieces, and had fallen down from the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he was slain by a lion, so that he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spoke like one. By speaking thus he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices; and accordingly, he to that degree outraged God, and was so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day, but how he might be guilty of some new wickedness more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

CHAP. X.

Of Rehoboam, and how God Punished him for his Impiety, through Shishak, King of Egypt.

§ 1.

NOW Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who was, as I said before, king of the two tribes, built the strong and large cities of Bethlehem,[1] and Etam,[2] and Tekoa,[3] and Bethsur,[4] and Socho,[5] and Adullam,[6] and Ipan,[7] and Maresha,[8] and Ziph,[9] and Adoram,[10] and Lachish,[11] and Azekah,[12] and Saraim,[13] and Elom [14] and Hebron.[15] These he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin. And he walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn and wine and oil, and furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears for many myriads. The priests also and Levites that were in all Israel, and any other of the people that were good and righteous men, gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem: for they were not willing to be forced to worship the calves which Jeroboam had made; and they swelled the population of the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after Rehoboam had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children, he married also another of his own kindred,

[1] *Beit Lahm.*
[2] See note 2, p. 105.
[3] *Tekû'a*, south of Bethlehem.
[4] *Beit Sûr*, four miles north of Hebron.
[5] *Khurbet Shuweikeh*, on the edge of the valley of Elah.
[6] *'Aîd el-Mâ.*
[7] In 2 Chron. xi. 8, Gath, *Tell es-Sâfi*, is named instead of Ipa, the site of which is not known.
[8] *Khurbet Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrîn.*
[9] *Tell Zîf.*
[10] *Dûra*, five miles west of Hebron.
[11] *Umm Lâkis.*
[12] *Tell Zakarîya.*
[13] *Sur'ah*, on the north side of the valley of Sorek, opposite Beth-shemesh.
[14] For Aijalon, now *Yâlô.*
[15] *el-Khulîl.*

whose name was Maachah, who was daughter of Absalom by Tamar, and by her he had a son whom he called Abijah. He had also many children by other wives, but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines: and he had twenty-eight sons, and threescore daughters: but he appointed Abijah, his son by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom; and intrusted him with his treasures and strongest cities.

§ 2. Now I think that success in affairs and a change for the better often becomes the cause of mischief and transgression in men. For when Rehoboam saw his kingdom so much increased, he lapsed into unrighteous and irreligious practices, and despised the worship of God, till the people themselves under him imitated his wicked actions. For the manners of subjects get corrupt simultaneously with those of their governors, for they then lay aside their own sober way of living as if it would be a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness as if it were virtue, for it is not possible for men to seem to approve of the actions of their kings, unless they act in the same way. So it happened now to the subjects of Rehoboam, for when he was grown impious and a transgressor himself, they were studious not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak king of Egypt to punish them for their outrages against him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken in attributing his actions to Sesostris. This Shishak then in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam made an expedition into Judæa with many myriads, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots with him, and sixty thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. Of this army he brought with him most were Libyans and Ethiopians. Now, therefore, when he invaded the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting, and when he had put garrisons in them, he went last of all to Jerusalem.

§ 3. Now when Rehoboam and the people with him were shut up in Jerusalem by the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side; but

Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in great consternation of mind, and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly neglect them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had violated his laws. And when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, put them into the hands of the Egyptians, that they might learn whether they would suffer less by serving men or God. And when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid and received him into it, he did not stand to the covenants he had made, but spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God and the king, and carried off innumerable myriads of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the golden bucklers and shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Sophene,[1] and had dedicated to God. And when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only made mistake in the king's name, and [in saying that] he made war upon several other nations also, and brought Palestinian Syria into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by the king of Egypt; for he says that "he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women." And our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. Herodotus says also[2] that "the Ethiopians learned circumcision from the

[1] See note 1, p. 18.

[2] Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies, b. ii. chap. civ. affirms, That "the Phœnicians and Syrians in Palestine [which last are generally supposed to denote the Jews] owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians;" whereas, it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. 9-14, John vii. 22, 23, as I conclude the Egyptian priests did also. It is not therefore very un-

Egyptians; for the Phœnicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned the practice from the Egyptians." Yet it is evident, that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us are circumcised. But as to such matters, let everyone say what is agreeable to his own opinion.

§ 4. When Shishak had gone away, Rehoboam the king made bucklers and shields of brass instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace; and, instead of warlike expeditions, and the glory which results from those actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, being always an enemy to Jeroboam. And he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and foolish man, and lost most of his dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried at Jerusalem in the sepulchres of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes. And this was the conclusion of these affairs. It is now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life: for he ceased not nor rested from being outrageous to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests of the common people.

likely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did therefore think they had learned circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than Herodotus, complains frequently of his mistakes about their affairs, as does Josephus more than once in this chapter; nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews; for as he never names them, so little or nothing of what he says about them, their country, or maritime cities, two of which he alone mentions, Cadytus and Jenysus, proves true; nor indeed do there appear to have ever been such cities on their coast.—W.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Death of a Son of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterwards and was succeeded in his Kingdom by Asa. Also how, after the Death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his son Nadab, and all the House of Jeroboam.

§ 1.

HOWEVER, God intended at no late date to recompense Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the head of all his house. As a son of his, who was called Abijah, was ill at that time, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to put on the dress of a private person, and to go to Ahijah the prophet, for Jeroboam said he was a wonderful man in foretelling future things, it having been he who told him that he would be king. He also enjoined her, when she got to him, to inquire concerning the lad, whether he should recover, as if she were a stranger. And she did as her husband bade her, and changed her dress, and went to the city of Shiloh, for there did Ahijah live: and as she was going into his house, as his eyes were then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, first that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him, and secondly what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as she was entering into the house like a private person and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath commanded me what to say to thee." Then he told her to return to her husband, and speak to him as follows from God: "As I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, and hast left off my worship, and hast made thee molten gods and honoured them; I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and

make them food for dogs and birds; for a certain king shall be raised up by me over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The people also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into regions beyond the Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. And do thou, lady, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life: yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the people, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only good person in Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, Jeroboam's wife went away hastily with a troubled mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed lad. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the impending death of her son, and was indeed in a wretched condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and hastened on in circumstances very unfortunate as to her son, for the greater despatch she made, the sooner would she see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. And when she had returned, she found that her son had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said, and she told everything to the king.

§ 2. However, Jeroboam did not lay any of these things to heart, but he got together a numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father as king over the two tribes, for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not dismayed at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth and the hopes of his enemy; for he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Semaron,[1] and pitched his camp near him, and made all necessary preparations

[1] In 2 Chron. xiii. 4, the place is called Mount Zemaraim, in the hill country of Ephraim; it was perhaps in the neighbourhood of *Khurbet es-Samrah*.

for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double that. Now, as the armies stood in battle array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoned with his hand, and desired the people and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak as follows. "That God gave David and his house the kingdom for all time you yourselves are not ignorant; so I cannot but wonder how you should revolt from my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and come now with him here to fight against those who by God's own will are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which still belongs to them; for as to the greater part of it Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it much longer, but when he has paid God the penalty for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he has been guilty of, and the outrages he has offered to him, and which he still continues to offer, and has persuaded you to do the same; yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger seemingly forsook him, but in reality you withdrew yourselves from God and his laws. And yet it would have been well for you to have forgiven a man young in age, and not used to court popularity, not only some disagreeable words, but also if his youth and unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate action, for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of the children on account of the good deeds of the parents. But you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, as you are come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? is it upon the golden calves, and the altars that you have on high places, which are proofs of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army that makes you so sanguine? But certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many myriads when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our

enemies in righteousness alone, and in our piety towards God, which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter, nor devised by a wicked king to deceive the multitude, but who is his own work, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore counsel you even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war, and to call to mind the laws of your country, and to reflect what it is that advanced you to so great a position."

§ 3. This is the speech which Abijah made to the people. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers secretly to cut off Abijah in certain parts of the camp that were not visible; and when he was thus in the reach of the enemy, his army was dismayed and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes in God, for he could not be cut off by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and shouted and fell upon their enemies, and God broke the courage and impaired the strength of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them. And God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have happened in any other war,[1] whether of Greeks or Barbarians, for they slaughtered five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by storm, and spoiled them; and they also did the same to Bethel and her towns, and to Jeshanah[2] and her towns. And

[1] By this terrible, and perfectly unparalleled slaughter of 500,000 men of the newly idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes, God's high displeasure and indignation against that idolatry and rebellion fully appeared; the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to persist in them, and a kind of balance or equilibrium was made between the ten and two tribes for the time to come; for otherwise the perpetually idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes would naturally have been too powerful for the two tribes; which were pretty frequently free both from such idolatry and rebellion; nor is there any reason to doubt of the truth of the prodigious number slain upon this occasion.—W.

[2] *'Ain Sînia*, in the valley north of Bethel.

Jeroboam never recovered this defeat during the life of Abijah, who did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters; and he had all these children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded him in the kingdom, a young man whose mother was Maachah. During his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

§ 4. So much for Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history has come down to us. As for Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, he died when he had governed them two-and-twenty years; and his son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. And Jeroboam's son reigned two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In those two years he made an expedition against Gabatho,[1] a city of the Philistines, and sat down to take it by siege; but he was conspired against while he was there by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Machel, and was slain; and Baasha seized the kingdom after his death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by birds. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety and wicked actions.

[1] Probably *Kibbieh*, to the west of Timnathah, *Tibneh*.

CHAP. XII.

How Zarah King of the Ethiopians was beaten by Asa; and how Asa, upon Baasha's making war against him, invited the King of the Damascenes to assist him; and how, on the Destruction of the House of Baasha, Omri got the Kingdom, and his Son Ahab after him.

§ 1.

NOW Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed anything but what was pious and had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. And he had an army of chosen men armed with targets and spears, of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand, and of the tribe of Benjamin two hundred and fifty thousand that bore shields and drew bows. And when he had just reigned ten years, Zarah king of Ethiopia made an expedition against him, with a great army of nine hundred thousand foot and one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah,[1] a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zarah had come so far with his own army Asa met him, and put his army in battle array over against him, in a valley called Saphtha,[2] not far from the city, and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many myriads of the enemy. "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but the assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger, in venturing to meet Zarah and fight him."

§ 2. While Asa was saying this, God signified that he should be victorious, and joining battle cheerfully on ac-

[1] *Khurbet Mer'ash.*

[2] In 2 Chron. xiv. 10, it is called the valley of Zephathah, and it is now *Wâdy Sâfieh.*

count of what God foretold about the issue of it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country near Gerar.[1] And when he and his army left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them (for the city Gerar was now taken), and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold and silver, and a great deal of spoil, and camels and beasts of burden and flocks of sheep. And when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now, as they were near the city, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to tell them that the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was that they had shown themselves righteous and religious men, and had done everything according to the will of God. He said also that, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies and live happily: but that, if they left off his worship, all things should fall out contrary; and a time should come, when no true prophet should be left in the whole nation, nor a priest who should give good advice, but their cities should be overthrown, and their nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and vagabonds. So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this they rejoiced, and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that the people should observe the laws also throughout the country.

§ 3. Such was the behaviour of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the people of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and seized his kingdom. He dwelt in the city of Tirzah,[2] having made that city his capital, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He ground down the people, and outraged God, who sent the prophet Jehu to him, and told him beforehand,

[1] *Khurbet Umm Jerrar*, six miles south of Gaza.

[2] Now apparently *Teiâsîr*, eleven miles north of Shechem, *Nâblus*.

that he would destroy his whole family and bring the same miseries on his house as had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin, because, though he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness by governing the people righteously and religiously, (which things in the first place tended to their own happiness, and were in the next place pleasing to God,) but had imitated that very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity as him, as he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for his audacious behaviour, yet did not leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died, nor did he repent of his past actions, nor endeavour to obtain pardon of God for them, but (as those who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, do not leave off their labours), so did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the ruin of his family and destruction of his house, (which are really among the greatest of evils,) were good things; and, as if he were an athlete for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains about it. And at last he took his army, and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah,[1] which was forty furlongs from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, and make it a *point d'appui* from whence they might make raids and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

§ 4. And Asa being afraid of this hostile move of the enemy, and reflecting how much mischief this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes with gold and silver, begging for his assistance, and reminding him of their old mutual friendship in the times of their forefathers. And he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with Asa, and broke off his

[1] Now *er-Râm*, five miles north of Jerusalem.

friendship with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces to the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them and spoiled others, as Ijon,[1] and Dan,[2] and Abellane,[3] and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned in haste to assist his own people in their distress. So Asa made use of the materials that Baasha had prepared for building Ramah, for building in the same place two strong cities, one of which was called Geba,[4] and the other Mizpah.[5] And after this Baasha had no leisure to make an expedition against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city of Tirzah, and Elah his son succeeded him, who died when he had reigned two years, being treacherously slain by Zimri the captain of half his army. For as Elah was feasting in the house of his steward Olsa, Zimri persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to attack him, and so he slew him, when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all occupied in the siege of Gabatho, a city of the Philistines.

§ 5. When Zimri, the general of the cavalry, had killed Elah, he seized the kingdom himself, and according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as I have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam. But the army that was besieging Gabatho, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that Zimri when he had killed him had seized the kingdom, made Omri their general king, who drew off his army from Gabatho, and went to Tirzah[6] where the royal palace was, and assaulted that city and took it by storm. And when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, having been

[1] Apparently *el-Khiam*, in the *Merj 'Ayûn*.
[2] *Tell el-Kâdy*.
[3] The same as Abel Beth-Maacah, now *Abl*.
[4] Now *Jeb'a*, near Michmash.
[5] Not identified; possibly *Neby Samwîl*.
[6] Now *Teiâsîr*.

king only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were at once divided, for part of them would have Tibni to be king and part Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the people. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa that Omri began to reign, and he reigned for twelve years; six of those years he reigned in the city of Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon,[1] known by the Greeks as Samaria; but Omri called it Semareon from Semar, who sold him the mountain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, except that he was worse than they; for they all sought how they might turn away the people from God by their daily wicked practices; and so it was that God made them to be slain by one another, and that none of their families remained. Now this Omri died at Samaria, and Ahab his son succeeded him.

§ 6. Now by these events we may learn what regard God pays to the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, but hates the wicked and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed and taken off by one another, in a short time, for their transgressions and wickedness; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and happy old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty-one years: and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the kingdom. He was the son of Asa, by his wife Abidah. And all men allowed that he followed David his forefather both in courage and piety, but I am not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

[1] Now *Sebustieh*, west of *Nâblus*.

CHAP. XIII.

How Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to Wife, became more wicked than all the Kings that had been before him. Of the Actions of the Prophet Elijah, and what befell Naboth.

§ 1.

NOW Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and reigned for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in his conduct from that of the kings that were his predecessors, except for the worse in such things as were of his own invention, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their outrageous behaviour towards God, and more especially did he rival the sin of Jeroboam: for he worshipped the calves that he had made, and contrived other absurd objects of worship besides them. He also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, from whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of wantonness and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, whom they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king himself also had many such about him, and so exceeded in folly and wickedness all his predecessors.

§ 2. And a prophet of the most high God, a native of Thesbon,[1] a town in Gilead, came to Ahab and told him that God foretold he would not send rain nor dew for several years upon the country till he himself should appear again. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a torrent, out of which he had water to drink, for as for his food ravens brought it him every day. And when the river was dried up for want of rain, he went to Zarephath,[2] a city not far from Sidon and Tyre (for

[1] Not identified; in the Bible Elijah is called 'the Tishbite,' as if the name were Tishbi.

[2] Now *Sarafend*, on the coast.

it lay between them), at the command of God, for God told him that he would find there a woman who was a widow, that would give him sustenance. And when he was not far from that city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands gathering sticks; and God informed him, that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance; so he went up and greeted her, and asked her to bring him some water to drink; and as she was going to do so he called her back, and bade her bring him a loaf of bread also. Thereupon she affirmed with an oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it and make bread for herself and her son; after which she said they must perish, and be consumed by famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Then he said, "Depart with good courage, and hope for better things: and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to you that the vessel of meal and cruse of oil shall not fail, until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she went home[1] and did as he told her, and had part of the cake for herself, and gave the rest to her son and the prophet, nor did the meal or oil fail until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal king of the Tyrians, where he says as follows: "In his reign there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetæus till the month Hyperberetæus of the following year. And when he made supplication there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city of Botrys[2] in Phœnicia, and the city of Auza[3] in Libya." By these words Menander designed this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for it was at that time that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians.

§ 3. Now the woman of whom I said before that she sustained the prophet, when her son fell so ill, that he gave up the ghost and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping and beating her breast with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her grief suggested

[1] I read *παραγενομένη πρὸς αὐτήν*.
[2] Now *Batrûn*, north of *Jebeil*, Byblos.
[3] Now *Sûr Rezlan*, near *Hamza*, in Algeria.

to her, and complained to him that he had come to her to convict her of her sins, and that was why her son was dead. But he bade her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for he would restore him to her alive. And when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into the chamber where he himself lived, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said that God had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him, and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. And God took pity on the mother, and was willing also to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief, and the child came to life again beyond all expectation. Then the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was now clearly satisfied that God was with him.

§ 4. A little while after this Elijah, according to God's will, went to king Ahab, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, insomuch, that it was not only men that were in distress, but the earth itself also did not produce enough for horses and other beasts of what was good for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and told him that he would have him go to fountains of water and brooks, that if any grass could be found by them, they might mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts. And when he had sent persons all over the land to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him on the search, and it was resolved they should start and divide the roads between them, and Obadiah should take one road, and the king another. Now it happened, when Queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets in underground caves, and had fed them at his own expense with bread and water. And when Obadiah was alone and apart from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was, and when he had learned from him, he prostrated himself before him. Elijah then bade

him go to the king, and tell him that he was ready to wait on him, but Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought all over the land for thee?" He asked also if he was so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untried, unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death? And he told him he was afraid that God would appear to Elijah again, and he would go away to another place, and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and the king not be able to find him anywhere upon earth, he would be put to death. He begged him therefore to think of his safety, reminding him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, for he had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed and fed them. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king, assuring him upon oath that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

§ 5. And when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him in anger, if it was he that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought. But Elijah, without any flattery, said that Ahab himself and his house had brought such sad afflictions upon them, by introducing strange gods into their country and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and paying no longer any kind of regard to him. However he bade him now go his way, and gather together to him to Mount Carmel[1] all the people and his own prophets and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And when all the men whom Ahab sent for hastened to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own national God to be the true and only God, they would

[1] Now *Jebel Kurmul*, south of *Acre*.

follow him and his commandments, but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but thought they ought to worship the strange gods, his counsel was that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to this, Elijah asked, as a trial of the power of the strange gods and of his God, that he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and offer it as a sacrifice, and lay it on a pile of wood, and not kindle any fire, and they should do the same, and call upon their gods to set the wood on fire, for if that were done they would then learn the true nature of God. This proposal pleased the people, so Elijah bade the prophets choose out a heifer first and sacrifice it, and call on their gods; but when there appeared no effect from the prayer and invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they were peradventure on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lancets,[1] according to the custom of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade the prophets go away, but bade the people draw near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the cleft wood. Then, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench round it; and when he had laid the cleft wood upon the altar, and had laid upon them his sacrifice, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to call on him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in error a long time. And as he was still speaking, fire came on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place became dry.

[1] Mr. Spanheim takes notice here, that in the worship of Mithra (the god of the Persians) the priests cut themselves in the same manner as did these priests in their invocation of Baal (the god of the Phœnicians). —W.

§ 6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped the one God, and called him the greatest and only true God, while they called the others mere names framed by the vile and foolish opinion of men. And they took their prophets and slew them at the command of Elijah. Elijah also told the king that he might go to dinner without any further anxiety, for in a little time he would see God would send them rain. Ahab accordingly went his way, but Elijah went up to the top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain look-out-place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising anywhere to give him notice of it, for till then the sky had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said several times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and recommended him to get down to the city before the rain came down in torrents. So he went to the city Jezreel,[1] and in a little time the sky was obscured and covered with clouds, and a strong wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain. And the prophet was seized with a divine enthusiasm, and ran along by the king's chariot to Jezreel, a city belonging to Issachar.

§ 7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what wonders Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was terrified, and fled to the city called Beersheba,[2] which is situated on the extreme borders of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die (for he was not better than his fathers, that he should be very desirous to live since they were dead), and he lay down and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awoke him, he rose up and found food set by him and water. And when he had eaten and recovered his strength by that food,

[1] *Zer'în.* [2] *Bîr es-Seb'a.*

he went to the mountain which is called Sinai, where Moses is said to have received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, whence he knew not, and asked him, "Why he was come thither, and had left the city?" he said that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him to come out the next day into the open air, and he should then know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day, and not only heard an earthquake but saw the bright light of a fire; and after an interval of silence a divine voice exhorted him not to be dismayed by the circumstances he was in, for none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to appoint Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over the people, and Hazael of Damascus to be king over the Syrians, and Elisha, of the city Abel,[1] to be prophet in his room; and said also that some of the impious multitude should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. And Elijah, upon hearing this, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and some other persons with him driving twelve yoke of oxen, and he went to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy at once, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah bade him do so: and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and attendant of Elijah all the days of his life. Such were the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

§ 8. Now there was one Naboth in the city of Jezreel, who had a field adjoining the king's property: and the king asked him to sell him that field, which lay so near his own land, at whatever price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make one estate of them; and if he would

[1] Abel-Meholah, now *'Ain Helweh*, nine and a half miles south of *Beisân*, Bethshean.

not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields instead. But Naboth said he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an outrage, since he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither take a bath nor any food: and when Jezebel his wife asked him what it was that troubled him? and why he would neither bathe nor eat either dinner or supper? he related to her the perverseness of Naboth, and how, though he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted in not obtaining what he asked for. But she urged him not to be cast down at this, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for she would see that Naboth was punished. And she immediately sent a letter to the rulers of the Jezreelites in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast and call a solemn assembly, and to set Naboth at their head, for he was of an illustrious family, and to have three audacious men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and so to dispose of him. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus convicted, as the queen had enjoined in her letter, of blasphemy against God and Ahab the king, he was stoned to death by the people. And when Jezebel had heard this, she went in to the king, and bade him take possession of Naboth's vineyard at free cost. And Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay, to go and see Naboth's vineyard. But God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to meet Ahab and to ask him why he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly. And when he came to him, and the king had said that he had done with him what he pleased (for he thought it a reproach to be thus caught by him in his sin) Elijah said, that in the very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly and contrary to the laws of his country. Then Ahab began to be

sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot, and would not touch any food:[1] he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. So God said to the prophet, that he would put off the punishment of his family during Ahab's lifetime, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that he would still fulfil his threatening in the reign of Ahab's son. And this message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAP. XIV.

How Benhadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.

§ 1.

WHEN the affairs of Ahab were in this condition, at that very time Benhadad the son of Hadad, who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond the Euphrates as his allies, and made an expedition against Ahab. And because Ahab's army was not equal to that of Benhadad's, he did not draw up his men in battle array to fight him, but having shut up everything in the strongest cities he had in the country, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared in other respects also not easy to be taken. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and went to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and asked him to receive the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. And upon the king of Israel's per-

[1] "The Jews weep to this day (says Jerome, here cited by Reland), and roll themselves upon sackcloth, in ashes, barefoot, upon such occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "That after the same manner, Berenice, when her life was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Florus barefoot." Jewish War, ii. 15, § 1. See the like of David, 2 Sam. xv. 30, Antiq. vii. 9, § 2.—W.

mission for him to send, those ambassadors came, and, by their king's command, said that Ahab's riches, and his children and wives, were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of them as he pleased, he would withdraw his army and raise the siege. Upon this Ahab bade the ambassadors go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he had were his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to Ahab once more and asked, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his whom he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send, whatever, upon their searching his palace and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent, but what did not please them they would leave to him. Ahab was angry at this second message of the king of Syria, and gathered together the multitude in assembly, and told them, that for himself he was ready for their safety and peace to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassage. "But now he has demanded to send his servants to search all our houses, and to leave in them nothing that is most excellent, seeking an occasion of fighting, knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers you to bring on a war. However, I will do what you shall think good." Then the multitude advised him to hearken to none of Benhadad's proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors the following answer to take back, that he still continued in the mind to comply with the terms at first asked, for the safety of the citizens, but as for Benhadad's second demands he could not submit to them, he dismissed them.

§ 2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he was indignant, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, relying upon whose strength he despised him, and that by each man of his army merely taking a handful

of earth, thus making a show of the great number of his army, and endeavouring to frighten him. Ahab answered, that he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he had conquered his enemies in the battle. Then the ambassadors went back, and found Benhadad at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer; and Benhadad immediately gave orders for proceeding to draw lines round the city, and raise earth-works, and to prosecute the siege in every way. Now while this was being done, Ahab was in great agony, and all his people with him; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, by a certain prophet coming to him, and saying to him, that God had promised to subdue so many myriads of his enemies under him. And when he inquired by whom the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the nobles, but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their inexperience." Upon this he called for the sons of the nobles, and found them to amount to two hundred and thirty-two persons, and when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates and sent out the nobles' sons. Now when the sentinels had informed Benhadad of this, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and if they came out peaceably, they were to do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, and the sons of the nobles fell upon the out-posts, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp; and when the king of Israel saw that they were victorious, he sent out all the rest of his army, which falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked [1] and drunk, insomuch that they left

[1] Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word 'naked,' does not always signify entirely naked, but sometimes without men's usual armour, or without their usual robes or upper garments; as when Virgil bids the husbandman plough naked and sow naked; when Josephus says, Antiq. iv. 3, § 2, that God had given the Jews the security of armour when they were naked; and when he here says, that Ahab fell on the Syrians when they were both naked and drunk; and when, Antiq. xi. 5, § 8, he says that Nehemiah commanded those Jews that

all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself only escaped with difficulty on a swift horse. And Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians, slaying them. And when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great many treasures, and also a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to Samaria. And as the prophet told him that he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab made provision accordingly.

§ 3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself and as much of his army as he could out of the battle, consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. And those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was strong in such places, and so it had come to pass that they had lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they would beat them. They also gave him this further advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his allies, but to retain their army, and to set satraps over it instead of them, and to raise an army out of their country in place of the former army which perished in battle, as also to get horses and chariots. And he thought their counsel good, and marshalled his host accordingly.

§ 4. At the beginning of spring Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews, and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphek,[1] he pitched

were building the walls of Jerusalem, to take care to have their armour on upon occasion, that the enemy might not fall upon them naked. I may add, that the case seems to be the same in the Scripture, where it says, that Saul lay down naked among the prophets, 1 Sam. xix. 24, when it says, that Isaiah walked naked and barefoot, Isa. xx. 2, 3, and when it says, that Peter, before he girt his fisher's coat to him, was naked, John xxi. 7. What is said of David also gives light to this, who was reproached by Michal for "dancing before the ark, and uncovering himself in the eyes of his handmaids, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself," 2 Sam. vi. 14-20; yet it is there expressly said, v. 14, that "David was girded with a linen ephod," *i. e.* he had lain aside his robes of state, and put on the sacerdotal, Levitical, or sacred garments, proper for such a solemnity.—W.

[1] Now *Fik*, to the east of the Sea of Galilee.

his camp in the great plain.[1] Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp opposite him, although his army was a small one in comparison to that of the enemy. And the prophet came again to him, and told him, that God would give him the victory, to prove that his own power was not only on mountains but on plains also; which, it seems, was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. Both armies lay quiet in their respective camps seven days, but on the last of those days, as the enemy came out of their camp at daybreak, and put themselves in battle-array, Ahab also led out his own army against them, and when the battle was joined, and obstinately contested on both sides, Ahab put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed them hard, and kept slaying them. Many indeed were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another, nor could any but a few of them escape to the city of Aphek. And twenty-seven thousand were killed by the walls falling upon them, and there were slain in the battle a hundred thousand also. But Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with some of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cave under ground. But when they told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication and obtain safety from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. And they went to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads,[2] (for that was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said that Benhadad begged Ahab would save him, and promised he would ever be a servant to him for that favour. Ahab replied that he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle, and also promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would exhibit to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from Ahab, that when Benhadad came to him, he should receive no harm, and then went and fetched him out of the cave wherein he lay hid, and brought him to Ahab who was sitting in his chariot. And

[1] That is the 'Mishor,' or upland plain, east of Jordan.

[2] This manner of supplication for men's lives among the Syrians, with ropes or halters about their heads, or necks, is, I suppose, no strange thing in latter ages, even in our country.—W.

Benhadad prostrated himself before him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and bade him come up to him into the chariot, and kissed him, and bade him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any harm should be done to him. And Benhadad returned him thanks, and declared that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life: and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the kings his predecessors had taken from them, and grant Ahab leave to come to Damascus, as his own forefathers had had leave to go to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made Benhadad many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. Such was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

§ 5. But a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah,[1] came to one of the Israelites, and bade him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would act according to the will of God; but as he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion and be destroyed by it. When this had befallen the man, the prophet went again to another, and gave him the same injunction, and he smote him, and broke his head, upon which he bound it up, and went to the king, and told him that he had been a soldier of his, and had had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner having run away, he was in danger of losing his own life at the hands of that officer, who had threatened him, if the prisoner escaped, that he would kill him. And when Ahab had said that he would justly die, he took off the bandage on his head, and was recognized by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of that artifice as a prelude to his subsequent

[1] It is here remarkable, that in Josephus's copy, this prophet whose severe denunciation of a disobedient person's slaughter by a lion had lately come to pass, was no other than Micaiah the son of Imlah, who, as he now denounced God's judgment on disobedient Ahab, seems directly to have been that very prophet whom the same Ahab, in 1 Kings xxii. 8-18, complains of, "as one whom he hated, because he did not prophesy good concerning him, but evil," and who in that chapter openly repeats his denunciations against him: all of which came to pass accordingly: nor is there any reason to doubt but this and the former were the very same prophet.—W.

words. For he said that God would punish Ahab for suffering Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should be killed by Benhadad, and his people by Benhadad's army. Upon this Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and commanded that he should be put in prison and there kept; but for himself, he returned to his own house confounded by the words of Micaiah.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem; and how Ahab made an Expedition against the Syrians, and was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and perished therein.

§ 1.

SUCH were the circumstances in which Ahab was. I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who augmented his kingdom, and put garrisons in the cities of the country belonging to his subjects, and no less into those cities which had been taken from the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes. And he had God's gracious assistance, as he was both righteous and religious, and sought to do every day what would be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches he acquired were immensely great, and the glory he gained was of a most exalted nature.

§ 2. Now in the third year of his reign he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to observe them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole people were so pleased, that they were not so eager about or so much in love with anything as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat and to be at peace

with him. The Philistines paid him their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified several great and important cities, and prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against his enemies. Now his army consisted of three hundred thousand armed men of the tribe of Judah, of whom Ednah was the chief; and John was chief of two hundred thousand, and was in command of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Ochobatus, who had a hundred and eighty thousand armed men under him. This host was ready for the king's service, besides those soldiers whom he had distributed among the best fortified cities.

§ 3. Jehoshaphat married his son Jehoram to the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And some time after when he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and entertained the army that accompanied him in a splendid manner with plenty of corn and wine and slain beasts, and begged Jehoshaphat to join him in war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city of Ramoth in Gilead;[1] for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him. And upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance (and indeed his army was not inferior to Ahab's), and sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their own army. And Jehoshaphat bade them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would advise to make the expedition at that time. For there was peace and friendship then between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time Ahab had taken him captive till that day.

§ 4. And Ahab called his own prophets, who were in

[1] See Antiq. iv. 7, § 4.

number about four hundred, and bade them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city,[1] for which he was going to commence war. And these prophets counselled his making this expedition now, and said that he would beat the king of Syria, and would get him as before into his power. But Jehoshaphat, who saw by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab, whether there was not some other prophet that belonged to the true God, that they might have sure information concerning the future. Then Ahab said that there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as he had prophesied evil to him, and had foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for that cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent an eunuch who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him on the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said that it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak whatever God should tell him about the king. When therefore he came before Ahab, and the king adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said that God had showed to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is slain. He said further, that God signified to him, that they should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in battle. When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told you a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he is wont to prophesy evil concerning me." Upon this Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatever it was, that God foretold, and that they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fall in the battle. Thereupon the king was in suspense, but Zedekiah, one of the false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken

[1] Namely, Ramoth in Gilead.

to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak the truth. As a proof of this he instanced what Elijah had said, who was better in foreseeing the future than Micaiah.[1] For he had foretold that dogs would lick Ahab's blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they had licked the blood of Naboth, who owing to him was there stoned to death by the people. It was plain therefore that this Micaiah was a liar, as he contradicted a greater prophet than himself, and said that Ahab would be slain in three days. He added, "You shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and has the power of the divine spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have arrested him; for I take it you have certainly heard of that event." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to Zedekiah, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria. For I suppose fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spoke truer than the true one, that it might get an opportunity of bringing him to his end. Moreover Zedekiah made horns of iron, and told Ahab that God signified by them that he should overthrow all Syria. But Micaiah replied that Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one inner chamber to another to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying. Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and give him to Amon the governor of the city to guard, with orders to supply him with nothing but bread and water.

§ 5. Then did Ahab and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem take their forces, and march to the city of Ramoth in Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he led out his army against them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and

[1] These reasonings of Zedekiah the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah the true prophet, are plausible, but being omitted in our copies, we cannot now tell whence Josephus got them. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah is very likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances.—W.

Jehoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes, and that the king of Jerusalem should put them on, and stand in front of the army, in order by this artifice to prevent what Micaiah had foretold. But Ahab's fate found him out though he was without his robes; for Benhadad the king of Syria had charged his army, by their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. Now when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat standing in front of the army, they conjectured that he was Ahab, and rushed violently at him, and surrounded him; but when they got near, and discovered that it was not he, they all returned back. And though the fight lasted from daybreak till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them, seeking to kill Ahab only, but being unable to find him. But a young servant of king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman, drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breast-plates in the lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make known to his army what had happened, lest they should run away, but bade the driver of his chariot to turn it back and carry him out of the battle, for he was sorely and even mortally wounded. However, he stayed in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

§ 6. And the Syrian army at nightfall retired to their camp, and when a herald gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home. And they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria and buried it there, and when they had washed his chariot, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, in the fountain of Jezreel,[1] they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and harlots continued thenceforwards to wash themselves in that fountain. But still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. Now as what was foretold by the two prophets should happen to Ahab came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God and everywhere to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is more worthy of belief

[1] The spring below *Zer'in*.

than what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy and the foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what they ought to avoid. We may also from what happened to this king guess and infer as to the power of fate, that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it beforehand, for it creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them on to where it will be too hard for them. Thus Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, so that he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat, and by giving credit to those who foretold what was pleasant to him, was slain. And his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS—FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he appointed Judges, and by God's assistance overcame his Enemies.

§ 1.

WHEN Jehoshapat the king returned to Jerusalem, after the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and found fault with him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and told him that God was displeased with him for so doing, but had delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own disposition which was good. Thereupon he betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God: after which he went all round the country which he ruled, to teach the people thoroughly both the law which God gave them by Moses and the piety due to God. He

also appointed judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom, and charged them to have regard to nothing so much in judging the people as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or birth, but to dispense justice equally to all, knowing that God is cognizant of every secret action. When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also appointed judges selected from the priests and Levites and principal persons of the community, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they were to send them from the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such cases; and that with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences given in that city where the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. And he set over them Amariah the priest and Zabadiah, both of the tribe of Judah. Thus the king ordered affairs.

§ 2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi,[1] a city situate near the lake Asphaltitis, three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opobalsamum. Now when Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had crossed over the lake, and had made an irruption already into the country which belonged to his kingdom, he was dismayed, and called the people of Jerusalem to an assembly in the temple, and standing over against the holy place, called upon God to give him power and strength to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them (for those who built this temple of God had prayed that he would protect their city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it), for they were come to take away that land which God had given them for a possession. When he had prayed thus he wept, and the

[1] Now *'Ain Jidy*, on the western shore of the Dead Sea.

whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also. And a certain prophet, Jehaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and told both the multitude and the king that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw out his forces next day to meet the enemies, and he would find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called the Eminence,[1] and that he was not to fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him, and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

§ 3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa,[2] he told the multitude that they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting, but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered their country from the enemies. This opinion of the king pleased the people, and they did what he advised them to do. And God caused a terror and panic to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies and slew one another, insomuch that not one man escaped out of so great an army; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon the valley where their enemies had encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event as this assistance of God, for he himself by his own power and without their labour had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to plunder the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day all the people gathered together in a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his

[1] In 2 Chron. xx. 16, "The end of the valley before the wilderness of Jeruel," it must have been near 'the ascent of Ziz,' *Wâdy Husâsah.*

[2] Now *Khurbet Tekû'a*, five miles south of Bethlehem.

power and assistance, from which circumstance the place had this name given it, the Valley of blessing.[1]

§ 4. And when the king had brought his army back thence to Jerusalem, he betook himself to festivals and sacrifices for many days. And indeed, after this destruction of their enemies came to the ears of foreign nations, they were all greatly dismayed, supposing that God would openly fight for Judah hereafter. And Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and piety towards God. He was also friendly with Ahab's son who was king of Israel, and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus,[2] and the merchant cities of Thrace; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so big and unwieldly, so he no longer concerned himself about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

Of Ahaziah, the King of Israel, and again of the Prophet Elijah.

§ 1.

AND Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like both his parents, and Jeroboam,

[1] The *Wâdy 'Arrûb;* a trace of the name, Berachah, is found in the ruin *Breikût.*

[2] What are here Pontus and Thrace, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sailed, are in our copies Ophir and Tarshish, and the place whence it sailed is in them Eziongeber, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; so that Josephus's copy differed from our copies, as is farther plain from his own words, which render what we read, that the ships were broken at Eziongeber, 'from their unwieldy greatness.' But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one Ophir to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Ophir in that South Sea also, and that fleets might then sail both from Phœnicia and from the Red Sea, to fetch the gold of Ophir.—W.

who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign the king of Moab revolted from him, and left off paying the tribute which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his illness sent to Ekron [1] to the goddess Fly, for that was the goddess' name, to inquire about his recovery. But the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and ask them whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery, and to bid them return and tell the king that he would not recover. And when Elijah had done what God commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that a certain man met them and forbade them to go any further; "but to return and tell you, at the command of the God of Israel, that your illness will be fatal." And when the king bade them describe the man that said this to them, they replied that he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather. And the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; so he sent a captain to him with fifty soldiers, and commanded him to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down and to go with him to the king, for so he had enjoined, for if he refused, they would take him by force. Then Elijah said to him, "That you may know whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell from heaven, and destroyed the captain and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the same number of armed men as were sent before. And when

[1] *'Akir.*

this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would seize him and take him away; upon Elijah's prayer against him, fire from heaven slew this captain and his company just as the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what had happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, he spoke courteously to him, and said that Elijah knew that it was against his own will, and only in submission to the king's command, that he came unto him, as also those that came before had not come willingly, but for the same reason. He therefore begged him to have pity on those armed men that were with him, and to come down and follow him to the king. And Elijah liked his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him that God said, "Since thou hast despised me as if I were not God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy illness, and hast sent to the goddess of Ekron to inquire of her what will be the end of this illness, know that thou shalt die."

§ 2. And the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; and Joram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, as he died childless. And this Joram was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God; for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods: but in other respects he was an active man. Now it was at this time that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this day. And he left behind him a disciple Elisha, as I have formerly declared. However, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, and nobody knows of their death.

CHAP. III.

How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition against the Moabites: as also concerning the Miracle of Elisha; and the Death of Jehoshaphat.

§ 1.

WHEN Joram had succeeded to the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Misa; for, as I said before, he had revolted from his brother Ahaziah, though he paid as tribute to their father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep with their fleeces. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, since he had been from the beginning a friend to his father, to assist him in the war that he was entering upon against the Moabites, who had revolted from him.. And he not only promised himself to assist him, but said he would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him and went to Jerusalem, and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom, for they would not expect them to take that road. So the three kings set out from Jerusalem, namely, the kings of Judah and Israel and the king of Edom. And when they had taken a circuitous route for seven days, they were in distress from want of water for the cattle and for the army, owing to their guides mistaking the roads, so that they were all in an agony, especially Joram, and cried to God by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them, that induced him to deliver three kings together without fighting into the hand of the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged Joram, and bade him send to the camp to know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, "that we might

by him learn from God what we should do." And when one of the servants of Joram said that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come to the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched outside the camp, they asked him, "What would become of the army?" and Joram especially. And when Elisha replied to him, that "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they were true prophets," he still begged him to prophesy and to save them. But he swore by God, that he would not answer him unless on account of Jehoshaphat, who was an holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the harp, the divine spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the bed of the torrent: for he said, "Though there appear neither cloud nor wind nor storm of rain, ye shall see the river full of water, so that the army and the cattle shall be saved for you by drinking of it. Nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and shall cut down their fruit-trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

§ 2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before sun-rise, the torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom; so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. And when the Moabites heard that the three kings were advancing upon them, and making their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab concentrated his army at once, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, it might not escape their notice. But when at sun-rise they saw that the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water looks especially red from the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had

slain one another mad for thirst, and the river ran with their blood. So, supposing that this was the case, they asked their king to send them out to spoil their enemies. And they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, supposing them destroyed. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies surrounded them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed and fled to their own country. And when the three kings entered the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and ravaged and spoiled their fields, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. And the king of Moab, being hard pressed by siege, and seeing his city in danger of being taken by storm, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred horsemen to try and break through the enemies' lines in that quarter where he thought the watch was kept most negligently: but when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he happened on a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed the utmost despair and distress. For he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God. And when the kings saw his action, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected by humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own country. And Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, but outlived this expedition but a very little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

CHAP. IV.

Joram succeeds Jehoshaphat: how Joram, his Namesake, King of Israel, fought with the Syrians; and the Miracles that were done by the Prophet Elisha.

§ 1.

JEHOSHAPHAT left a good number of children, but he appointed his eldest son Joram to be his successor, who had the same name as his mother's brother, the son of Ahab, who was king of Israel. Now when the king of Israel returned from the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I intend to relate particularly, for they are remarkable and worthy to be recorded, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

§ 2. For they say that the widow of Obadiah,[1] Ahab's steward, came to him; and said, that he was not ignorant how her husband had saved alive the prophets that were sought to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he had hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance; and that, after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she begged him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband had done, and afford her some assistance. And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, "Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse." And the prophet bade her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neigh-

[1] That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who in our Bible is styled 'the wife of one of the prophets,' 2 Kings iv. 1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrast, and by the rabbins and others. Nor is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those 'hundred of the Lord's prophets, whom he maintained by fifty in a cave,' in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 4, which circumstance rendered it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Lev. xxv. 39, Matt. xviii. 25, which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.—W.

bours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all, for God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full: upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them, and there would be some surplus over from the price of the oil, which she might devote to the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

§ 3. Elisha also sent a hasty message to Joram,[1] and exhorted him to take care of that place, for there were some Syrians lying in ambush there to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided going a hunting. And when Benhadad failed in his scheme, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambush to Joram, and sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secrets, and threatened that he would put them to death, since his intention, which he had intrusted to none but them, was yet made known to his enemy. And when one of those that were present told him not to be under a false impression, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but to know that it was Elisha the prophet who had discovered all to him, and revealed his plan, he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. And those that were sent brought word that he

[1] Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects that there is no small omission in our present copies of Josephus just before the beginning of this section, and chiefly as to that distinct account which he had given us reason to expect in the first section, and to which he seems to refer, chap. viii. § 6, concerning the glorious miracles which Elisha wrought, which indeed in our Bibles are not a few, 2 Kings iv.-ix., but of which we have several omitted in Josephus's present copies. One of those histories, omitted at present, was evidently in his Bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v., for he plainly alludes to it, b. iii. chap. xi. § 4, where he observes, that "there were lepers in many nations who were yet held in honour, and not only free from reproach and exile, but who had been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in their commonwealths, and had had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples."—W.

was in Dothan.[1] So Benhadad sent to that city a great army with horses and chariots to take Elisha. And they encompassed the city round about by night, and watched it, and when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running and crying out in an alarmed manner to him, and told him of it. But he encouraged him and bade him not be afraid, and besought God, whose assistance prevented his feeling fear himself, to manifest to his servant his power and presence, as far as was possible, in order to inspire him with hope and courage. And God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made his servant see a multitude of chariots and horses surrounding Elisha, so that he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of the army he supposed come to their assistance. After this Elisha entreated God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked whom they came to seek? And when they replied "the prophet Elisha," he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he happened to be. And these men were so blinded by God in their sight and mind, that they followed Elisha very readily. And when he had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round the Syrians, and prayed to God to clear the eyes of their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the darkness they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies, and the Syrians were strangely amazed and alarmed, as was but likely, at an action so divine and surprising; and when king Joram asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot them, Elisha forbade him so to do; for he said, that it was just to kill those that were taken in battle, but that those men had done his country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come there by divine power. And his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at the king's table, and then to send them away without hurting them. And Joram

[1] Now *Tell Dôthân*, north of Samaria.

hearkened to the prophet, and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he sent them back to Benhadad their king.

§ 4. Now when those men were come back, and had showed Benhadad what had befallen them, he wondered at the strangeness of it, and at the appearance and power of the God of Israel, as also at the prophet with whom God so evidently was ; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war against him, supposing he would be more than a match for his enemies owing to his numerous and powerful army. So he made an expedition with a great force against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for the Syrians, shut himself up in Samaria, relying on the strength of its walls ; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet by reducing the Samaritans by famine and want of necessaries, so he brought up his army and besieged the city. And the supply of necessaries so failed Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a pint of dove's dung instead of salt for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was afraid that somebody would betray the city to the enemy because of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such traitor were among them, and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them. And on a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," as he thought that she was about to ask for something to eat, he was angry and imprecated God's curse upon her, and said he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon this she said she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor wanted to trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice on another woman. And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said that she had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and friend, because the famine and want was intolerable, that they should

kill their children (each of them having a son), and live upon them in turn for two days. "And I killed my son the first day, and we both lived upon him yesterday, but she will not do the same thing, but has broken her agreement, and hid her son." This mightily grieved Joram when he heard it, and he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and was filled with wrath against Elisha the prophet, and eagerly desired to have him slain, because he had not prayed to God to provide them some way and means of escape from the miseries by which they were surrounded, and he sent some one away immediately to cut off his head. And he hurried off to kill the prophet, but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, the son of a murderer, had sent some one to take off his head; "but," continued he, "when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but shut the door in his face, and hold it fast, for the king himself will shortly follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." And they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came. Now Joram had repented of his wrath against the prophet, and fearing that he who was commanded to kill him would have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder the murder and to save the prophet. But when he got to him, he accused him of not praying to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, and of not caring about their perishing so sadly under them. Thereupon Elisha promised that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two measures of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour should be bought for a shekel. This prediction made Joram and those that were present very joyful, for they did not hesitate to believe what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had had of the truth of his former predictions, and the expectation of plenty made the want and distress they were in that day appear a light thing to them. But the captain of the third band, who was a

friend of the king, and on whom the king then leaned, said, "You talk of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to rain down torrents of barley or fine flour out of heaven, so it is impossible that what you say should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply, "You yourself shall see these things come to pass, but shall not partake of any of them."

§ 5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following. There was a law at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not clean from it, should abide without the city. Now there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, and nobody gave them any food because of the extremity of the famine: and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and considered that even if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine, while if they remained where they were they should suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, for if they spared them they would live, but if they should be killed they would be fortunate in their death. So when they had determined on this resolution, they went by night to the enemies' camp. Now God had begun to frighten and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were advancing upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a panic about this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said that Joram the king of Israel had hired as allies both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands, and was leading them against them, for they heard the noise of them coming. And Benhadad believed what they said (for there came the same noise to his ears as to theirs), and so they fell into a mighty alarm and panic, and left their horses and beasts and immense riches in their camp, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria and gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom I made mention a little before, when they got to the camp, observed nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily

into one of the tents, and as they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried away garments and a great quantity of gold out of the camp and hid it, after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this they did several times, without the least interruption from anybody. So they inferred thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves for not informing Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them about the enemies, and they told the king's guards, through whom Joram came to know of it; and he sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, "I suspect that this departure of the king of Syria is an ambush and piece of treachery, and that he is in despair of ruining you by famine, so, as you imagine the Syrians to have fled away, he tempts you to come out of the city to spoil their camp, that he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and not only kill you, but take the city without fighting. So I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And a certain person said, that the king did very well and wisely to entertain such a suspicion, but still he advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country as far as the Jordan, and if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy and cut to pieces, they might preserve the army from going out as if they suspected nothing, and suffering the like misfortune: and those horsemen might be added to those that had died by the famine, supposing they were intercepted and slain by the enemy. And the king was pleased with this advice, and sent such as might search out the truth, who journeyed over a road that was without any enemies, and found it full of provisions and of weapons, that they had thrown away and left behind them, in order to be unimpeded and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to plunder the camp. And their gains were not things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and droves of all kinds of cattle. They also got possession of such innumerable quantities of wheat and

barley, as they never in the least dreamed of, and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two measures of barley were bought for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a measure is equal to a peck and a half.[1] And the captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit from this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king in charge of the gate to prevent too great a crowd of the multitude endangering one another and perishing by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what the prophet said concerning that plentiful supply of provisions which they should soon have.

§ 6. Now when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had got safe to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that had cast all his army into this alarm and panic, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily dejected at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell ill. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, had gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed: so he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his illness, and whether he should recover from it. And Hazael went to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious things that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those that the king's palace supplied, and saluted him kindly, and said that he was sent to him by king Benhadad, to bring him presents and to inquire concerning his illness, whether he would recover from it or no. Whereupon the prophet bade him not tell the king the melancholy news, but said he would die. And the king's servant was troubled to hear it, and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plentifully as he foresaw what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the reason of his distress, he said,

[1] Literally, "to an Italian modius."

"I weep out of compassion for the multitude of the Israelites, and for the terrible miseries they will suffer by thee. For thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and burn their strongest cities, and destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How shall I have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria. And when Hazael returned to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his illness, but the next day he spread a wet cloth in the nature of a net over him, and so strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had to an eminent degree the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods by reason of their benefactions, and their building of temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day have a procession in honour of these kings, and pride themselves on their antiquity, not knowing that these kings are much later than they imagine, and not yet eleven hundred years old. And when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he breathed again from the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAP. V.

Of the Wickedness of Joram King of Jerusalem. His Defeat and Death.

§ 1.

NOW Joram the king of Jerusalem, who, as I before said, had the same name as the king of Israel, as soon as he had received the kingdom, betook himself to the slaughter of his brothers and the chief of his father's friends, and so made a beginning and demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who first transgressed the national laws of the Hebrews, and God's worship. And Athaliah, the daughter

of Ahab, whom he had married, taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Joram did not leave off the introduction of innovations every day, to the propagation of impiety and the ruin of the national customs. And as the Edomites had about that time revolted from him, and slain their former king, who had been loyal to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Joram fell upon the land of Edom by night with the horsemen and chariots that were about him, and destroyed those Edomites that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, as also those that dwelt in the country of Libnah.[1] He was indeed so mad, as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains and worship strange gods.

§ 2. As he was acting thus, and had entirely cast his own country's laws out of his mind, there was brought him a letter from Elijah the prophet,[2] which declared that God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel, and had compelled the tribe of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem to leave the holy worship of their national God and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brothers, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet predicted in this letter what punishment he should undergo for these crimes,—namely, the destruction of his people and the slaughter of the king's own wives and children, and that he should himself die of a disease in his bowels after long torments, his bowels falling

[1] Not identified; apparently the same place as the Libnah in the lowland of Judah.

[2] This letter, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this addition, "for he was yet upon earth," which could not be true of Elijah, who, as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elisha: nor, perhaps, is there any more mystery here, than that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of Elisha, by the copiers, there being nothing in any copy of that letter peculiar to Elijah.—W.

out by the excessive inward rottenness of the parts; insomuch that though he should see his own misery, he should not be able at all to help himself, but should die in that manner. This was what Elijah predicted in that letter.

§ 3. Not long after this an army of those Arabians that lived very near Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Joram, and spoiled the country and the king's house, and moreover slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah. After this calamity he himself fell ill of the disease which was foretold by the prophet, and was ill a great while (for God inflicted upon him this punishment in his belly in his wrath against him), and he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also treated his dead body with contempt, I suppose because they thought that such death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man. And he had lived forty years, and reigned eight; and the people of Jerusalem delivered the kingdom to his son Ahaziah.

CHAP. VI.

How Jehu was anointed King of Israel, and slew both Joram and Ahaziah; as also what he did for the Punishment of the Wicked.

§ 1.

NOW Joram the king of Israel after the death of Benhadad hoped that he might take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it with a great army, but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal, so he returned to have it healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi as its general, for he had already taken the city by storm, and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war on the Syrians again. But Elisha the prophet

sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him the holy oil to anoint Jehu with, and he was to tell him that God had chosen him to be king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bade him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold to him. So he went up to him, and said that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he rose up and followed him into an inner chamber, the young man took the oil and poured it on his head, and said, that God elected him to be king, to destroy the house of Ahab, and to revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and that no seed might remain of Ahab's family. And when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

§ 2. Then Jehu came out, and went back to the place where he had before been sitting with the captains. And when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, why it was that this young man came to him, and also added that he was mad, he replied, "You guess right, for the words he spoke were the words of a madman." And as they were very eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, he had chosen him to be king over the people. When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and proclaimed that Jehu was king. And when he had got his army together, he proposed to set out immediately against Joram for the city of Jezreel, where, as I said before, he was getting healed of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, had now come to visit Joram (for he was his sister's son, as I have said already), to see how he did after his wound on account of their kindred. Now as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram and those who were with him unexpectedly, he desired that none of the soldiers should escape and tell Joram what had hap-

pened, for to prevent this would be an evident proof of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

§ 3. And they were pleased with what he proposed, and guarded the roads, lest anybody should privately report Jehu's intentions to those that were at Jezreel. And Jehu took with him some chosen horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and started for Jezreel. And when he was come near, the watchman, whom Joram had put there to spy out such as were coming to the city, saw Jehu advancing, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen advancing. Upon this Joram immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him in what condition the army was; for he said the king wanted to know; but Jehu bade him not to meddle at all with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had joined the company, and was coming along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former had done. And when the watchman told this also to Joram, at last he mounted his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem, who, as I said before, was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly,[1] and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp? But Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and harlot. Upon this the king, fearing his intention, and suspecting he meant no good, turned his chariot about as soon as he could and fled, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery." But Jehu drew

[1] Our copies say, that this "driving of the chariots was like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously," 2 Kings ix. 20, whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was this, that, on the contrary, Jehu marched slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jehu, and at length to go out with king Ahaziah to meet him, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.—W.

his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart; so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third division of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, reminding him of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father after he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for as they sat behind Ahab's chariot they heard the prophet say so, and now it was come to pass according to his prophecy. Now when Joram had fallen, Ahaziah was afraid for his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be noticed by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow and wounded him. And he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo,[1] and though his wound was attended to, in a little time he died there of it, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man and worse than his father.

§ 4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon the tower, and said, "he was a fine servant that killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower, and being thrown down, she besprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu went to the palace with his friends, and refreshed himself after his journey both with other things and a meal. He also bade his servants take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her race, for she was descended from kings; but those that were bidden to bury her found nothing remaining but the extremities of her body, for all the rest was eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he marvelled at the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

§ 5. Now Ahab had seventy sons who were being brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two letters, one to those

[1] Now *el-Lejjûn*, on the south side of the plain of Esdraelon.

who were bringing up the young princes, the other to the rulers of Samaria, and wrote in them that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for they had abundance of chariots and horses and armour, and a great army and fenced cities, and by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab. This he wrote to test the intentions of the people of Samaria. Now when the rulers and those that were bringing up the young princes read the letters, they were afraid, and considering that they were not at all able to oppose Jehu, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him answer that they owned him for their lord, and would do whatever he bade them. So he wrote back to them bidding them obey him and cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that were bringing up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, and cut off their heads and send them to Jehu. So they did what they were commanded, omitting nothing at all, and put the heads in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one on each side of the gates, and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that he conspired himself against his master and slew him, but he had not slain all these; and he desired them to take notice that all things had come to pass to Ahab's family according to God's prophecy, and that his house had perished as Elijah had foretold. And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going? And when they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah (for they knew not that he had slain them both), Jehu gave orders that they should take them and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

§ 6. After these there met him a good and righteous man, whose name was Jonadab, who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, be-

cause he had done everything according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. And Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and to make his entry with him into Samaria, and told him that he would show him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; for it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and righteous man to see the wicked punished. And Jonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and got up into Jehu's chariot, and went with him to Samaria. And Jehu sought out all Ahab's kindred and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets nor the priests of Ahab's gods should escape punishment, he took them all deceitfully by the following wile. He gathered all the people together, and said that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that their priests and prophets and servants might be present, for he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's gods, and if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's god was called Baal. And when he had appointed a day on which he would offer the sacrifices, he sent messengers throughout all the country of the Israelites to bring the priests of Baal to him. Then Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the temple of Baal with his friend Jonadab, and gave orders to make search, whether there was any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no stranger mix in their sacred rites. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and were beginning their sacrifices, he placed without fourscore of his soldiers whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and bade them slay the false prophets, and vindicate now the laws of their country, which had been a long time neglected. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the temple of Baal, and so purged Samaria of foreign customs. Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law

Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, had built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship. Howbeit, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden calves. But because he had done thus to Baal, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations. Such is the history of Jehu.

CHAP. VII.

How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for six Years, when Jehoiada the High Priest slew her, and made Joash, the Son of Ahaziah, King.

§ 1.

NOW when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of all the royal family, she was anxious that none of the house of David should be left alive, but that the whole family should be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterwards. And she thought she had actually extirminated them all, but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death in the following manner. Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Joash, for that was the little boy's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse, and she took him with her into a secret bedchamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

§ 2. Now in the seventh year Jehoiada communicated the matter to some five of the captains of hundreds, and persuaded them to join him in his attempt against Athaliah, and in procuring the kingdom for Joash. He also exacted such oaths from them as are proper to secure conspirators from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope, that they should depose Athaliah. And those

men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his confederates, went over all the country, and gathered together the priests and Levites and heads of the tribes, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. And he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatever he should reveal to them, which required both their silence and assistance. And when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the boy that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God foretold should reign over you for all time to come. I recommend that three divisions of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that a fifth keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also gave them this order besides, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the person of the king himself, and guard him with their swords drawn, and kill that man immediately, whoever he was, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bade them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king. And these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and showed the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened the armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers and whatever other weapons it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another, by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. Then they brought the boy into the midst, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the holy oil, and proclaimed him king. And the multitude rejoiced, and applauded, and cried out, "God save the king!"

§ 3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and came quickly out of the royal palace with her army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her,

but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they had been ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. And when Athaliah saw the boy standing on a platform with the royal crown on his head, she rent her clothes, and vehemently cried out, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the kingdom. But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to take Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishment of this abandoned woman; and he gave orders, if any one came near to help her, that he should be slain also. So those that had the charge of her slaughter, took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

§ 4. Now as soon as Athaliah was cunningly despatched in this manner, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be loyal to the king, and take care of his safety and the safety of his realm. After that he obliged the king to give security on oath that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the temple of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Joram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal. And Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also appointed some of the Levites and porters to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might enter in.

§ 5. And when Jehoiada had set these things severally in order, he, with the captains of hundreds and the rulers and all the people, brought Joash out of the temple into the king's palace, and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; for the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Joash

was seven years old when he took the kingdom: his mother's name was Zibiah, of the city of Beersheba.[1] And all the time that Jehoiada lived Joash was very careful that the laws should be kept, and zealous in the worship of God. And when he was of age, he married two wives who were found for him by the high priest, by whom he had both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Joash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and took over the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazael makes an Expedition against the People of Israel, and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds him. Joash, the King of Jerusalem, is at first careful about the Worship of God, but afterwards becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. When Joash King of Judah was dead, Amaziah his son succeeds him in the Kingdom.

§ 1.

NOW Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehu, and ravaged the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites and half the tribe of Manasseh, as also Gilead and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on; and this without hindrance from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was in this distress: nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria: and left his son Jehoahaz as his successor in the kingdom.

§ 2. Now Joash, king of Jerusalem, had a desire to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and priests through all the country to ask half a shekel of silver of every person towards the

[1] *Bîr es-Seb'a.*

restoration and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Joram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, concluding that no one would willingly pay that money, but in the twenty-third year of Joash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he had enjoined them, and commanded them for the future to see to the restoration of the temple, he used the following stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then put it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it what he pleased through the hole for the restoration of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they vied with one another in bringing in large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and this they did every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much money as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada and king Joash sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber of the finest sort, and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls and basons and cups and other vessels, and continued every day to make the altar fat with costly sacrifices. And these things met with suitable attention as long as Jehoiada lived.

§ 3. But as soon as he was dead (which was when he had lived a hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous and in every respect a good man, and he was buried in the king's sepulchre at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David) king Joash gave up his care about God. The leading men of the people were also corrupt together with him, and offended against their duty, and against what was considered to be most for their good. And God was displeased at this change in the king and the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them how bad their actions were, and to stop them from their wickedness.

But they had got such a strong affection and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the example of those that had before them offered affronts to the laws and had been so severely punished they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression. But the king even commanded that Zachariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God appointed Zachariah to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king, that they should act righteously, and foretold to them that, if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment. And Zachariah when dying appealed to God to witness and avenge what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished in a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Joash.

§ 4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his lawlessness. For when Hazael, king of Syria, invaded his country, and had overthrown Gath and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem. Upon this Joash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings before him, and took down the gifts that had been dedicated in the temple, and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor utterly undone, for Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem. But Joash fell into a severe illness, and was attacked by the friends of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada, in order to revenge his death. They conspired against the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

§ 5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Joash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, became king of the Israelites at Samaria, and reigned seventeen years. He did not imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked

practices as those who first held God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so reduce his forces, that there remained no more of his great army than ten thousand foot and fifty horse. He also took away from him his great and many cities, and destroyed his army. Now the king of Israel suffered these things according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascenes. But when Jehoahaz was in such extreme miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not allow him to be reduced by him. And God accepted his repentance as virtue, being desirous rather to admonish the powerful, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, and granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

§ 6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of king Joash of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, and had the same name as the king of Jerusalem, and retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like his father. Now at this time the king of Israel came to visit Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into an illness, and when Joash found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight and lament, and call him his father and protector, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but overcame his adversaries by his prophecies without fighting; but now he was departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his; and he added that it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was bemoaning this state of affairs, Elisha comforted him, and bade the king bend a bow that was brought him: and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his

hands and bade him shoot. And when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou wouldst have cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more than three times, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father." And when the king heard that he departed, and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory among the Hebrews. He had a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. Now it happened at that time that certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, he came to life again. Thus much have I enlarged on Elisha the prophet, both as to what he foretold while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

§ 7. Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, the kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash king of Israel made war, and beat him in three battles, and took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages, which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel. Now this came to pass according to the prophecy of Elisha. And when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the kingdom came to his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but when he afterwards made War against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded him in the Kingdom.

§ 1.

NOW in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah became king over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoaddan, and she was born at Jerusalem. He was exceedingly careful in doing what was right, and that though he was very young. And when he came to the management of affairs and into the kingdom, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Joash, and to punish those friends of his that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severity upon their children, but acted therein according to the law of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old: and when he had collected together about three hundred thousand of them, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver. For he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to start, a prophet counselled him to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were impious men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as allies, but that he should overcome his enemies, though he fought with but a few soldiers, if God pleased. And when the king was discontented at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God.

So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went with his own army alone, and made war with the nations before mentioned. And when he had beaten them in battle he slew ten thousand of them, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia,[1] and threw them down headlong. He also brought away a great deal of spoil and vast riches from all those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired and then dismissed were very vexed at it, and taking their dismissal for an affront (supposing it could not have been done to them but out of contempt), they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to plunder the country as far as Bethhoron,[2] and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

§ 2. Now, upon the victory which Amaziah had got, and his great success, he was puffed up, and began to neglect God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, that he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people who paid them honours, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried away captive, for they had been carried to Jerusalem, in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive and led them there. This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied that he would indeed hold his peace, but also foretold that God would not overlook his innovations. But Amaziah was not able to contain himself in the prosperity which God had given him, but outraged God notwithstanding, and was so elated that he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly

[1] Compare 2 Kings xiv. 7, in which Amaziah is said to have taken Sela, or 'the Rock,' by war, and 2 Chron. xxv. 12, with which Josephus agrees. Sela is the modern Petra.

[2] *Beit 'Ûr el-Foka.*

been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his throne. To this message Joash wrote back the following answer. "King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle: the thistle sent to the cypress tree to ask the cypress tree's daughter in marriage for the thistle's son; but as the thistle was making this request, there came a wild beast, and trode down the thistle. May this be a lesson to thee not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud as to bring reverses upon thyself and upon thy kingdom."

§ 3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was still more eager for war, I suppose by the incitement of God, that he might be punished for his offences against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle, there came such a sudden fear and panic upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, which discomfited them even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, as they were dispersed by the terror that was upon them, that Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; and Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. And Amaziah from necessity and fear for his life got the enemy received into the city. And Joash overthrew about four hundred cubits' length of wall, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive with him. Thus he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this was conspired against by his friends, and fled to the city of Lachish,[1] and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men there to kill him.

[1] *Umm Lâkis.*

And they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah because of his innovations in religion and contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Jeroboam King of Israel, and Jonah the Prophet: and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his son Zachariah had the Kingdom. How Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, subdued the Nations that were round about him; and what befell him when he attempted to offer Incense to God.

§ 1.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel in Samaria forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked, worshipping idols and undertaking many things that were strange and foreign. He was therefore the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the north as far as the city of Hamath,[1] and on the south as far as the lake Asphaltitis, for these were originally the boundaries of Canaan, as Joshua the general had fixed. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

§ 2. Now I cannot but think it necessary, as I have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to narrate the history of this prophet, as I have found it written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Ninus, and when he was there, to publish in the city of Nineveh,[2] how it should lose

[1] *Hama.* [2] On the Tigris, opposite *Mosul.*

its dominion. But out of fear he went not, nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa,[1] and, finding a ship there, went on board and sailed to Tarsus[2] in Cilicia. And upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners and the pilot and the master himself made prayers and vows of thank-offerings in case they escaped the sea: but Jonah lay still and covered up without imitating any thing that the others did. Then as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the cause of the storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was; and when they had casts lots, the lot fell upon the prophet. So they asked him, whence he came, and what was his errand? He replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he recommended them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for he was the cause of their storm. Now at first they durst not do so, esteeming it a wicked thing to expose a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, to such manifest destruction; but at last, as their distress overbore them, and the ship was just going to sink, and as they were incited to do so by the prophet himself and by fear for their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the storm ceased. It also related that Jonah was swallowed by a whale, and that when he had been in its belly three days and as many nights, he was vomited out on the coast of the Euxine Sea, and that alive and without any hurt upon his body. And there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city of Nineveh, where he stood in the hearing of all, and proclaimed that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia. And when he had annonnced this, he returned. I have given the account about him, as I found it written.

§ 3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zachariah succeeded him

[1] *Jaffa.* [2] *Tersûs*, in the province of *Adana*.

in the kingdom. Similarly Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, began to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. His mother Achiala was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was by nature a good man, and righteous and magnanimous, and energetic in looking after the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took by storm their cities of Gath[1] and Jamnia,[2] and razed their walls to the ground. After this expedition, he attacked the Arabs that were on the confines of Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea,[3] and put a garrison in it. After this he overthrew the Ammonites, and ordered them to pay tribute. He also subdued all the country as far as the confines of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life. For he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the walls which had either fallen down from time or the carelessness of the kings his predecessors, as well as all that that had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers a hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places and put garrisons into them, and dug many aqueducts. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle, for his country was good for pasture. He was also fond of husbandry, and took great care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of three hundred and seventy thousand chosen men, who were governed by two thousand general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valour and unconquerable strength. He also divided his whole army into divisions, and armed them, giving every one a sword, and brazen bucklers and breast-plates, and bows and slings. And besides these, he made for

[1] *Tell es-Sâfi.*

[2] The Jabneh of 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, and Jabneel of Josh. xv. 11. The later form, Jamnia, is used in the first book of Maccabees; it is now *Yebnah.*

[3] According to 2 Chron. xxvi. 2, this town was Eloth, now *'Ailah*, at the head of the Gulf of *'Akabah.*

them many engines of war for besieging of cities, such as engines for throwing stones and darts, and grappling-irons, and other instruments of that sort.

§ 4. While Uzziah was making these arrangements and preparations he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became puffed up on account of his perishable abundance, and despised that power which is of eternal duration (which consisted in piety towards God and the observation of his laws), so he fell by reason of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his father, which the splendour of the prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, as he was not able to moderate himself in them. So upon a high day, when a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the priestly garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had eighty priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, for none but the posterity of Aaron were permitted to do so. And when they cried out that he must go out of the temple and not sin against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time, a great earthquake shook the ground,[1] and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that leprosy seized him immediately, and before the city, at a place called Eroge,[2] half a mountain broke off on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stopped at the east mountain, till the roads and king's park were obstructed. Now, as soon as the priests saw

[1] This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem at the very time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office, and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequences of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our copies, though it is exceedingly like a prophecy of Jeremiah's now in Zech. xiv. 5, in which prophecy mention is made of "fleeing from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah;" so that there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetical earthquakes.—W.

[2] Apparently the same place as Enrogel, the Virgin's fountain in the Kedron Valley.

that the king's face was infected with leprosy, they told him of his calamity, and commanded him to go out of the city as an unclean person. And he was so confounded with shame at this terrible disease, that he lost all his confidence, and did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what it befitted a man to have, and for the impiety against God which was implied therein. So he dwelt out of the city for some time and lived a private life, and his son Jotham took over the government; after which he died with grief and dejection at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and of them reigned fifty-two; and he was buried by himself in his own gardens.

CHAP. XI.

How Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah reigned over the Israelites; and how Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made an Expedition against the Israelites. How Jotham, the Son of Uzziah, reigned over the Tribe of Judah: and what Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.

§ 1.

NOW when Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who usurped the kingdom after him, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of the army, who was at that time in the city of Tirzah,[1] and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, marched with all his army to Samaria, and joined battle with Shallum, and slew him, and made himself king, and went thence, and came to the city of Tiphsah.[2] But the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; and in order to be avenged on them, he ravaged the country

[1] *Teiâsîr.*

[2] Probably *Khurbet Tafsah*, six miles south-west of *Nâblus*, Shechem.

round about, and took the city by storm after a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, exhibiting the utmost cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity to his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years: but when Pul, king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, he did not engage in battle with the Assyrians, but persuaded Pul to accept of a thousand talents of silver and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachmæ per head. After this he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and ruled two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the son of Remaliah, and captain over a thousand, who had conspired against him. And this Pekah was king twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. And when the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, made an expedition against the Israelites, and overran all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond the Jordan, and the adjoining country which is called Galilee, and Kadesh[1] and Hazor,[2] he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them to his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

§ 2. Now Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, his mother, whose name was Jerusha, being a citizen thereof. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men. He was also careful of the condition of the city (for whatever parts wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them). He also repaired the porticoes in the temple, and set up the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any

[1] Now *Kades*, west of the lake *el-Hûleh*.
[2] Possibly *Tell Hâra*.

thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay as tribute a hundred talents, and ten thousand cors of wheat, and as many of barley, every year. And he so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

§ 3. Now there was at this time a prophet whose name was Nahum, who spoke as follows concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and Nineveh. "Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion;[1] so troubled and tossed shall all her people be, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, stand, remain still, seize their gold and silver; for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money: for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and trembling of limbs, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And where shall be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions? God says to thee, Nineveh, that he will deface thee, and lions shall no longer go out from thee to rule the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I omit them that I may not appear troublesome to my readers. And all these predicted things happened to Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterwards. This much may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

[1] This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, chap. ii. 8-13, and is the principal, or rather the only one that is given us almost verbatim, but a little abridged, in all Josephus's known writings: by which quotation, we learn what he himself always asserts, viz. that he made use of the Hebrew original [and not of the Greek version]; as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours.—W.

CHAP. XII.

How, upon the Death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead; against whom Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, made War: and how Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, came to the Assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascenes into Media, placed other Nations in Damascus.

§ 1.

NOW Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who turned out most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols, to whom also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites, and did other similar actions. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now friendly to one another, made war against him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but small progress on account of the strength of its walls. And when the king of Syria had taken the city of Elath [1] near the Red Sea, and had slain its inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians. And when he had slain the Jews in the garrisons and in the neighbourhood, and had carried off much spoil, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, he drew out his army against him, and joined battle with him, and was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly one hundred and twenty thousand of his men were slain that day by the Israelites, whose general

[1] See note 3, p. 188.

Zacharis slew Amaziah, king Ahaz's son, in the battle, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also took prisoner Elkanah, the general of the tribe of Judah. They also carried away captive the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin; and when they had got a great deal of spoil, they returned to Samaria.

§ 2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria, who met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that they had not got the victory by their own strength, but because of the anger that God had against king Ahaz. And he complained, that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against Ahaz, but had had the heart to make captives of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also counselled them to let them go home without suffering any harm, for if they did not obey God, they should be punished. And the people of Israel came together to their assembly and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Barachiah, who was one of great reputation in the state, stood up, and three others with him, and said they would not suffer the citizens to bring those prisoners into the city, lest they should all be destroyed by God; they had sins enough of their own that they had committed against God, as the prophets assured them, they ought not therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes. When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought expedient. So the forenamed men took the captives and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them necessaries for their journey, and sent them back to their own country, without doing them any harm. Moreover those four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

§ 3. Now king Ahaz, after having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in the war against the Israelites and Syrians and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money; he also sent him handsome presents. And he, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the

Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by storm, and slew Rezin its king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was dealing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold and silver that was in the king's treasures, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and carried them off with him to Damascus, and gave them to the king of Assyria according to his agreement. And he confessed that he owed him thanks for all he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now Ahaz was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by the Syrians, but went on worshipping them, as though they would procure him victory: and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honour any gods than his own national and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat. Nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt of God, that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade the offering of the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah as his successor.

CHAP. XIII.

How Pekah died by the Treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser; and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz; and what Actions of Piety and Righteousness he did.

§ 1.

ABOUT the same time, Pekah, the king of Israel, died by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the divine worship. And Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition

against him, and overcame him (which was probably because he had not God favourable or friendly to him), and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay a fixed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, she was a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was more important, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself and his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant that, owing to the sins of my father, who neglected the sacred service of God, you have experienced many and great miseries, as you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those whom he approved of as gods. I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how awful a thing impiety is, to put it immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to restore all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it. For so we shall render God favourable, and he will remit his anger."

§ 2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent throughout his territories, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Unleavened Bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate all in one body the feast of Unleavened Bread; and he said this was by way of invitation only, and to be done not out of obedience to him but of their own free will, and for their own advantage, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of his envoys,

and upon their laying before them the message of their king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the envoys to scorn, and mocked them as fools: they also affronted the prophets who gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they arrested them, and slew them. Nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they acted more wickedly still than has been described. Nor did they leave off before God brought them under their enemies as a punishment for their impiety; but of that more hereafter. However, there were many of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to piety. And all these flocked to Jerusalem to Hezekiah, that they might worship God.

§ 3. When they were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls and as many rams, and seven lambs and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself and the rulers laid their hands on the heads of the victims, and left it to the priests to complete the sacrifices. So they both sacrificed and offered the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their harps, as they were instructed by David to do, while the rest of the priests returned the music with their trumpets. And when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces and worshipped God. The king also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs, and granted the multitude to feast upon six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle. And the priests performed all things according to the law. And the king was so pleased therewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God. And as the feast of Unleavened Bread was now at hand, when they had offered the sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered the other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sacrificed themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers:

for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed since the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence. And when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purified it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also ordered that the daily sacrifices should be offered at his own expense according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude contributed all sorts of fruits to the priests and Levites. The king also made garners and storehouses for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their ancient religion. Now, when the king had settled these matters in the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities from Gaza [1] to Gath. But the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overthrow all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, from whom he got accurate knowledge of all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

How Shalmaneser took Samaria by Force, and how he transplanted the Ten Tribes into Media, and brought the Nation of the Cuthæans into their Country in their Room.

§ 1.

WHEN Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that Hoshea the king of Israel had sent privately to So the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against

[1] *Ghuzzeh.*

him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea. But as he was not admitted by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by storm in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive. And when he had removed these people out of their land, he transplanted other nations from a place called Cuthah[1] (there is a river of that name in Persia) into Samaria and the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed from Judæa, nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers came out of the land of Egypt and possessed themselves of this country, and eight hundred years after Joshua was their leader; and two hundred and forty years seven months seven days after they had, as I have already described, revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such an end came upon the Israelites because they transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What originated their misfortunes was their rebellion against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

§ 2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phœnicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Elulæus; as Menander testifies, who, when he wrote his Annals, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gave the following account: "One, whose name was Elulæus, also called Pyas, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Cittæans, sailed and reduced them

[1] The position of Cuthah or Cuth is undecided

to submission again. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overran all Phœnicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back; but Sidon and Ace[1] and old Tyre[2] revolted from the Tyrians, and many other cities also, which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. But as the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king of Assyria returned, and attacked them again, and the Phœnicians furnished him with three-score ships and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians sailed against them in twelve ships, and dispersed the enemies' ships, and took five hundred men prisoners, the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased. But the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts to hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians held out, and drank of the water they got from wells which they dug." This is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser the king of Assyria.

§ 3. But now the Cuthæans who removed into Samaria (for that is the name they have been called by to this day, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, where there is a river of the same name), each of them, according to their nations, which were five, introduced their own gods into Samaria; and by worshipping them after their national rites they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized them, by which they were destroyed; and as they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by an oracle that they must worship Almighty God to get deliverance. So they sent messengers to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he sent them, and the people were taught by them the laws and the right worship of God, they worshipped him zealously, and the plague immediately ceased. Indeed they continue to make use of the very same rites to this day, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthæans,

[1] Ace, Ptolemais, or Acco, is now *'Akka* or *St. Jean d'Acre.*

[2] Palæ Tyrus, or 'Old Tyre,' was that part of the city which lay on the mainland.

but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And as to their relationship with the Jews these people chop and change according to circumstances. When they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph and so had an original affinity with them: but when they see them in reverses, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, for they then declare that they are resident aliens. But of them I shall have a more seasonable opportunity to speak hereafter.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.—FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS.

CHAP. I.

How Sennacherib made an Expedition against Hezekiah; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians; how Isaiah the Prophet encouraged Hezekiah; how Sennacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his Army destroyed, he returned home; and what befell him shortly afterwards.

§ 1.

IT was now the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by storm. And when he was about to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and to pay what tribute he should fix. And Senna-

cherib, when he heard the offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept the proposals that were made to him; and if he should receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he pledged himself upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do the king no harm, but go away as he came. And Hezekiah believed him, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further anxiety about his kingdom. And the Assyrian king took the money, but paid no regard to what he had promised; for while he himself went to war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

§ 2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him. But he did not himself come out to them owing to fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends, Eliakim who was administrator of the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder; who came out of the city and met the commanders of the Assyrian army. And when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and tell Hezekiah that "Sennacherib the great king [1] desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends in revolting from his lord, and being unwilling to hear him, or admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, in the hope that Sennacherib's army will be beaten by them? Let him know, if this is what he expects, that he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, who will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. He ought also to know that Sennacherib makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who has granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the same manner he

[1] The title of 'Great King,' both in our Bibles, 2 Kings xviii. 19, Isa. xxxvi. 4, and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib, as Spanheim takes notice of in this place.—W.

shall destroy those that are Hezekiah's subjects also." When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid that the multitude that heard him would be thrown into consternation, so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue: but the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear he was in, made his answer in a louder and clear voice, and said, "I speak in the Hebrew tongue, that all may hear the king's commands, and consult their own advantage in delivering themselves up to us, for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist. But if you are confident, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to supply you with two thousand of the horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many riders on their backs, and then show your strength. But you cannot produce the men you have not got. Why do you therefore delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver up yourselves voluntarily, as a forcible surrender by your being beaten is evidently dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you."

§ 3. When the people and the messengers had heard what the Assyrian commander said, they reported it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner; and fell upon his face after the manner of his country and besought God, and entreated him to assist him, for he had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and beseech him to have indignation at the hopes of their enemies, and to have mercy upon his own people. And when the prophet had done this, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now showed, for God would take care that they should be destroyed. He also foretold

that Sennacherib the king of Assyria would fail in his expedition against Egypt, and when he came home would perish by the sword.

§ 4. About the same time the king of Assyria also wrote a letter to Hezekiah, in which he said he was a foolish man to suppose that he should escape from being his servant, for he had already reduced many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened his gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When Hezekiah read this letter, he despised it on account of the trust that he had in God, and he rolled it up and laid it in the temple. And as he again prayed to God for the preservation of the city and all the people, the prophet Isaiah told him that God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be besieged at this time by the king of Assyria, and that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him, and that the people might peaceably and without fear go on with their husbandry and other affairs. And a little while after the king of Assyria, having failed in his attempt against the Egyptians, returned home without success for the following reason. He had spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium,[1] and when the banks that he had raised near the walls were of a great height, and he intended to make an immediate assault upon them, he heard that Tirhakah, king of the Ethiopians, was coming up with a great force to aid the Egyptians, and intended to march through the desert, and so fall suddenly upon the Assyrians. And king Sennacherib was disturbed at this news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned home without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib Herodotus also relates in the second book of his histories, that this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Hephaestus, and that, as he was besieging Pelusium, he raised the siege for the following reason. The Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king. But Herodotus was mistaken in this, in calling him king

[1] The Sin of Ezek. xxx. 15; now *Tineh*, to the east of *Port Said*.

not of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians. For he says that a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on this account that the king, as he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium. Herodotus gives us this account; and Berosus also, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldæa, mentions this king Sennacherib, and says that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt, and says thus . . . . .[1]

§ 5. Now, when Sennacherib returned from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh, his general, in danger from a plague, for God had sent a pestilence upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed. And the king was in great dread and terrible agony at this calamity, and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city of Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously slain by his elder sons, Adrammelech and Shareser, and was buried in his own temple called Araske.[2] Now these sons of his were driven away by the citizens on account of the murder of their father, and went into Armenia, and Esarhaddon succeeded Sennacherib. And this was the conclusion of this expedition of the Assyrians against the people of Jerusalem.

[1] Hiatus hic deflendus.

[2] Possibly the temple which Sennacherib built to the god Nergal at Tarbisi, *Sherif Khan*, about three miles from Nineveh up the Tigris.

CHAP. II.

How Hezekiah was sick and likely to die; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen Years' longer Life, and gave him a sign of it by the Shadow going back ten Degrees.

§ 1.

NOW king Hezekiah, being thus unexpectedly delivered from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God with all the people, because nothing but the divine assistance had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate that they departed from Jerusalem. But though he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, he soon afterwards fell into a severe illness, insomuch that the physicians despaired of his life, and feared the worst, as also did his friends. And besides his illness itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that troubled the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and kingdom without a legitimate successor. And he lamented and was grieved at the thought of this, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he became a father. And God had mercy upon him, and hearkened to his supplication, because the trouble he was in at the idea of death was not because he was soon to lose the advantages he enjoyed as king, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but only in order to have sons to succeed him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that within three days' time he should recover from his illness, and should survive it fifteen years, and should have children also. Now upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, Hezekiah could hardly believe it, both on account of his very sore illness, and because of the surprising nature of what was told him, so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign and omen, that he might believe what he had said, and be

sure that he came from God: for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by such signs. And when Isaiah asked him what sign he desired, he asked that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made go down ten degrees in his house, to return again to the same place, and be as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his illness, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God, and made vows to him.

§ 2. At this time the empire of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes, but of this I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. And he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of in precious stones and gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon this the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him, "Whence those ambassadors came?" To which he replied, that they came from Babylon from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and power they might thereby guess at his condition, and be able to inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, "Know that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be slaves of the king of Babylon, for God foretells that such things will come to pass." At these words Hezekiah was troubled, and said that he was unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities at all, yet as it was not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah], he was by the confession of all a divine and wonderful man in revealing the truth, and confiding in his never having spoken what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of by posterity from the events. Nor did this

prophet alone do so, but the others, who were twelve in number, did the same. And whatever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies. But of every one of these I shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in Captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to his Son Amon.

§ 1.

WHEN king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of life, and reigned twenty-nine. But when his son Manasseh, whose mother, Hephzibah, was a native of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself most wicked in his manners in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites for the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; for he was so bold as to defile the temple of God and Jerusalem and the whole country. For setting out with a contempt of God, he savagely slew all the righteous men who were among the Hebrews, nor did he spare the prophets, for every day he slew some of them, till Jerusalem flowed with blood. And God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king and to the people, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites had suffered from upon the like affronts offered to God. But they would not believe their words, though had they done so they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries, yet did they learn by the events that what the prophets had told them was true.

§ 2. For as they persevered in the same courses, God

raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldæa, who sent an army into Judæa, and laid waste the country; and got possession of king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him in his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. Then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. And God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and restored to his kingdom. And when he returned to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purified the city, and for the remainder of his days was intent on nothing but to return thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve his favour all his life long. He also instructed the people to do the same, having experienced what calamity he had very nearly fallen into by the contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established the divine worship as it ought to be, he saw to the security of Jerusalem, and did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the out-works before the city he not only strengthened in other respects, but put into them provisions of all sorts. And, indeed, when he had changed his former courses, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time he began to show piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation. And when he had lived sixty-seven years, and reigned fifty-five years, he departed this life, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother Meshulemeth was a native of the city of Jotbath.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. Also concerning Huldah the Prophetess.

§ 1.

THIS Amon imitated the wicked conduct of his father during his youth, and had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years and reigned two. But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath,[1] and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, and made him a pattern and rule in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave proof of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, for they were not gods, and to worship the national God. And by reflecting on the actions of his forefathers, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a man of ripe years very competent to understand what ought to be done; and whatever he saw was well and seasonably done, he observed and imitated the same. And thus he acted following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and complying with the advice and instruction of the elders; for it was by following the laws that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship, for the iniquity of the former kings was seen no more, but quite vanished away. For the king went about the city and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated

[1] The Bozkath of Josh. xv. 39, and 2 Kings xxii. 1. A city of Judah, on the plain between Lachish and Eglon, not yet identified.

to them by his forefathers, he treated them contemptuously and plucked them down. And by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God, and they offered the accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon his altar. Moreover, he appointed certain judges and overseers, that they might order matters in their jurisdiction, and have regard to justice above all things, and dispense it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and bade such as pleased bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclination or ability. And when the money was brought in, he made Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joah the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple and of the contributions thereto. And they made no delay, nor put off the work at all, but prepared architects, and whatever else was wanted for the repairs, and set closely about the work. And so the temple was repaired, and became a public proof of the king's piety.

§ 2. And when Josiah was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave orders that out of any surplus money he should cast cups and dishes and vials for ministration in the temple; and also that they should bring all the gold and silver that was among the treasures, and similarly expend it in making cups and such kinds of vessels. And as the high priest Eliakim was bringing out the gold, he lit upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple, and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, went to the king, and informed him that all which he had ordered to be done was finished. He also read over the books to him, and the king, when he heard them read, rent his garment: and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for others of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, a man held in good repute and of an eminent family, and bade them go to her and ask her to appease God, and endeavour to render him propitious to them, for there was reason to fear that, because of the transgression of the laws of Moses by their

forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country, and of being in want of all things, and so ending their days miserably. When the prophetess heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bade them go back to the king, and say that God had already given sentence against them, to ruin the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they now enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside by any prayers, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and because of their not having repented in so long a time, though the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he was God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets: yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but would after his death send on the multitude the miseries he had determined for them.

§ 3. And these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and reported it to the king; and he sent round to the people everywhere, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should assemble at Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a platform in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God and keep the laws of Moses. And they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king urged upon them, and immediately offered sacrifices, and that in an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was consecrated to idols or to foreign gods, they should cast it out: and when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes, and slew the priests of the idols, who were not of the family of Aaron.

§ 4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he went

into the country, and utterly destroyed the buildings that had been set up therein by king Jeroboam in honour of the strange gods, and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the altar which Jeroboam first built. So it came to pass as the prophet Jadon,[1] who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, foretold in the hearing of all the people, viz., that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what I have here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

§ 5. After these things Josiah went also to all the Israelites who had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, and to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses and villages and cities, suspecting that somebody might have some idols in private. Moreover he took away the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had made, and whatever else there was besides which they worshipped as God. And when he had thus purified all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of Unleavened Bread called the Passover. He also gave the people, for the Paschal sacrifices, thirty thousand young kids of the goats and lambs, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal Jews also gave to the priests for the Passover two thousand six hundred lambs; the principal Jews also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen. Thus there was great plenty of victims, and they offered the sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, every priest showing the way and ministering to the people. Indeed there had been no other Passover thus celebrated by the Hebrews since the times of Samuel the prophet, and the reason was that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the national rites. And when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

[1] Josephus, by a slip of memory, has the prophet Ahijah.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Necho, King of Egypt, and was wounded, and died soon afterwards; as also, how Necho carried Jehoahaz, who had been made King, into Egypt, and transferred the Kingdom to Jehoiakim: also concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

§ 1.

NOW Necho, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the empire of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city of Mendes,[1] which belonged to the kingdom of Judah, Josiah brought an army to hinder him from passing through his country in his expedition against the Medes. And Necho sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not make this expedition against him, but was pushing on to the Euphrates, and bade him not provoke him to fight against him, because he hindered his march to the place where he had resolved to go to. But Josiah did not hearken to this message of Necho, but put himself in a position to hinder Necho from his intended march, fate, I suppose, pushing him on to this conduct, that it might have an opportunity against him. For as he was setting his army in battle-array, and riding about in his chariot from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness for fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of his wound, and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, having lived thirty-nine years, and of them reigned thirty-one. And all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving many days: and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy in lamentation of him which is still extant. This prophet also foretold the

[1] In 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. The town is said to have been Megiddo, now *el-Lejjûn*.

sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and of the taking of Babylon. Nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the people, for so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that left behind him in writing two books about these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, and Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. But I shall relate what befell this prophet in its proper place.

§ 2. Upon the death of Josiah, as I have already said, his son, Jehoahaz by name, succeeded to the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem, and his mother was Hamutal, of the city of Libnah.[1] He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life: and when the king of Egypt returned from the war, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him to the city called Hamath, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bonds, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his on the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and Jehoiakim paid this sum of money by way of tribute: but Necho carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt where he died, having reigned three months and ten days. Now Johoiakim's mother was called Zabudah, she was a native of the city of Abuma.[2] He was of a wicked and malevolent disposition, neither religious towards God nor kind towards men.

[1] A town in the 'lowland' of Judah, near Lachish, not yet identified.
[2] Possibly *Rûmeh*, north of Nazareth.

CHAP. VI.

How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the King of Egypt, made an Expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made his son Jehoiachin king.

§ 1.

NOW in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar became ruler over the Babylonians, and at the same time went up with a great army to the city of Carchemish,[1] which was near the Euphrates, intending to fight with Necho king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Necho learnt of the intention of the Babylonian, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not make light of the matter, but started with a great band of men for the Euphrates, to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many myriads in the battle. Then the king of Babylon passed over the Euphrates, and took all Syria as far as Pelusium except Judæa. And when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth year of Jehoiakim's rule over the Hebrews, he made an expedition with a mighty force against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened on his refusal to make war upon him. Jehoiakim was alarmed at this threatening, and bought peace with money, and for two years brought the tribute he was ordered to bring.

§ 2. But in the third year, upon hearing that the Egyptians were marching against the Babylonian, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they persisted in relying on Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and how Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spoke proved to be of no advantage to them, because there

[1] *Jerablûs*, on the Euphrates, or *Membij*.

were none that should escape; for both the multitude and the rulers, when they heard him, paid no attention to what they heard; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a prophet of evil against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, asked that he should be sentenced and punished. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court, and urged the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said that he was not the only person who had foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah had announced the same before him, as well as several others, none of whom suffered anything at the hands of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God. And they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment decreed against him. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting and assembled at the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions of what was to befall the city and temple and people. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bade him and Baruch the scribe go and hide themselves, lest they should be discovered; but they took the book and gave it to the king, and he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However they escaped his anger.

§ 3. Not long afterwards the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who received him into the city from fear of the predictions of Jeremiah, supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him. Howbeit when Nebuchadnezzar was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest beauty, together with their king Jehoiakim,

whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls without any burial, and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country and city. He also took captive three thousand of the principal persons, and led them away to Babylon: among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but a boy. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven: and Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta, she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned only three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII.

How the King of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin King, and took him away to Babylon, and transferred the Kingdom to Zedekiah. This King would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judæa, were vanquished by the King of Babylon; as also what befell Jeremiah.

§ 1.

FOR a terror soon seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, for he was afraid that he would bear him a grudge because of his killing his father, and would therefore make the country revolt from him. So he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem. And he, because he was by nature good and just, did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but took his mother and kindred and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither they nor the city should suffer any harm, which agreement they did not observe for a single year. For the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take captive all that were in the city, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him (their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two), as also Jehoiachin and his mother and friends. And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and

appointed Zedekiah Jehoiachin's uncle to be king: and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the country for him, and make no revolt, nor have any friendship with the Egyptians.

§ 2. Now Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he took the government, and he had the same mother as his brother Jehoiakim, and he was a despiser of justice and of his duty. Indeed both those of the same age with him and his court were wicked, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; so that the prophet Jeremiah came often to him and protested, and bade him leave off all his impieties and transgressions, and see to what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers (among whom were wicked men), nor give credit to the false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would no more make war against Jerusalem, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such. Now Zedekiah himself, as long as he heard the prophet speak, believed him, and agreed to everything as true, and supposed what he recommended was for his advantage; but afterwards his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and got him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also prophesied in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them to Jerusalem. But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies for the following reason. It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said in all other things, as that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but Ezekiel differed in saying that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah told him that the king of Babylon should carry him thither in bonds. And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as I shall show upon a fitter opportunity.

§ 3. Now when Zedekiah had preserved friendship with the Babylonians for eight years, he broke it, and allied

himself to the Egyptians, in hope of overcoming the Babylonians by their assistance. When the king of Babylon learnt this, he marched against him, and laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it. And when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances his ally Zedekiah was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judæa, intending to raise the siege: upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them and beat them, and put them to flight, and pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. But as soon as the king of Babylon had departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said that the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon, but that those now in captivity would return with all those vessels of the temple of which the king of Babylon had spoiled the temple. But Jeremiah came forward, and prophesied what was contrary to those predictions, and what proved to be true. He said they did ill, and deluded the king; for the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoil, and would carry off the riches that were in the temple, and moreover would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; but the Persians and Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians, and then they should be let go, and return to their own land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem. When Jeremiah said this, most people believed him, but the rulers and those that were wicked despised him, as one out of his mind. Now he had resolved to go to his native place, which was called Anathoth,[1] and was twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and arrested him, and accused him falsely of going as a deserter to the Babylonians: but

[1] Now *'Anâta*, three miles north-east of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added that he was only going to his native place. But the other would not believe him, but arrested him and led him away to the rulers for sentence, at whose hands he endured all sorts of outrage and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, unjustly suffering what I have already described.

§ 4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and sat down before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost energy. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilence, and made great havoc of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out and preached aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for if they did so they and their households should be preserved, but if they did not do so they should perish. He also foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly die in one of two ways, he should either be consumed by famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but if he would flee to the enemy, he should escape death. But those rulers who heard did not believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but went to the king in their anger, and informed him of what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by his prediction of miseries diminished the zeal of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for king and country, while he in a threatening way warned them to flee to the enemy, and told them that the city would certainly be taken and utterly destroyed.

§ 5. Now the king himself was not at all personally irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with the rulers at such a time, by opposing their wishes, he let them do with the prophet whatever they would: and when the king had granted them that permission, they at once went to the prison and took Jeremiah, and let

him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and so not die at their hands. And he stood up to his neck in the mire, which was all round him, and so continued. But one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and the rulers had done evil in plunging the prophet into the mire, and so contriving against him, that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatever else he thought necessary for the prophet's preservation, and draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty.

§ 6. And when the king sent for him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, and desired him to inform him what might be suitable to his present circumstances, Jeremiah replied that he had somewhat to say, but would not be believed, nor hearkened to if he admonished him, "for," (continued he,) "thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived you, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? But I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance being given him, and advised him to deliver up the city to the Babylonians. And he added that it was God that prophesied this by him, that he must do so if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city be razed to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but if he disobeyed he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house. When the king heard this, he said that he would willingly do what he advised him to do, and what he declared would be for his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of

his own country that had deserted to the Babylonians, lest he should be calumniated by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished. But the prophet encouraged him, and said he had no cause to fear such punishment, for if he would deliver up the city to the Babylonians, he should not experience any misfortune, either himself or his children, or his wives, and the temple should also continue uninjured. And when Jeremiah had said this, the king dismissed him, and charged him to betray to none of the citizens what they had resolved on, nor to tell any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should ask what he had said to him; but to pretend to them that he had begged only that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison. And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he went to give the king as to them? And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

CHAP. VIII.

How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem and burnt the Temple, and removed Zedekiah and the People of Jerusalem to Babylon. Also a list of the High Priests under the Kings.

§ 1.

NOW the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem, and he erected towers upon great earthworks, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls; he also threw up a great number of such earthworks round the whole city, whose height was equal to the walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and energy, for they were not disheartened either by the famine or pestilence, but were stout-hearted in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within harassed them, and did not suffer themselves to be terrified either by the contrivances of the enemy or by their engines of war, but devised engines to oppose all the enemy's ones, till indeed the whole struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem

seemed to be which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former supposing they would be by their skill in war more than a match for the others for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such counter-inventions as might demonstrate the enemy's engines to be useless. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were undone by famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

§ 2. Now the city was taken in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, in the ninth day of the fourth month. It was taken by the generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah.[1] The names of the generals who took and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these, Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemy's generals had entered into the temple, Zedekiah, learning it, took his wives and children and captains and friends, and with them fled out of the city through the fortified ditch and through the desert. And when certain deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, they made haste at daybreak to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and surrounded him. Then those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw the enemy near, left him and dispersed, some one way some another, for every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive (as he was deserted by all but a few), with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzer began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, seeing that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin and given it him, he had made use of his power against him that gave it; "but," he added, "God is great, who hated that conduct of yours,

[1] Now *Rilleh*, on the Orontes, thirty-five miles from *Ba'albek*.

and has brought you under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captives looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him off to Babylon. And so those things happened to him, which Jeremiah and Ezekiel foretold to him, that he should be taken and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes. And thus much did Jeremiah prophesy, but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, and did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

§ 3. I have narrated this, because it is sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, how it is various and acts in many different ways, and how all events happen in a regular manner in their proper season, and how it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee the future at all, and are without any guard exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of them.

§ 4. Thus the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one including the last king, and reigned altogether five hundred and fourteen years six months and ten days; of whom Saul, their first king, retained the kingdom twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe as the rest.

§ 5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, and commanded him to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people to Babylon. Accordingly he went to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried off the vessels of God both gold and silver, and the large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass and their chapiters, and the golden tables and candlesticks. And when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, on the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the

eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace, and razed the city to the ground. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days, after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days, from the departure out of Egypt; and the whole interval from the deluge to the destruction of the temple was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; and from the birth of Adam, till this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days. Such was the number of years, and the actions that were done during those years I have particularly related. And the general of the Babylonian king razed the city to the ground, and removed all the people, and took captive the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest next to him in rank, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers, all of whom, together with the vessels which he had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah,[1] a city in Syria. And the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself took Zedekiah and all the captives to Babylon. He also led away bound the high priest Josedek, who was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city in Syria, as I have just related.

§ 6. And now, since I have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then of the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas came Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Issus; after him came Axioramus: his son was Phideas, and Phideas' son was Sudeas, and Sudeas' son was Juelus, and Juelus' son was Jotham, and Jotham's

[1] See note 1, p. 224.

son was Urias, and Urias' son was Nerias, and Nerias' son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus' son was Elcias, and his son [was Azarias,[1] and his son] was Seraiah, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession in direct descent.

§ 7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged from the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, and freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judæa, who was shortly afterwards slain by Ishmael: and how Johanan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the People, whom Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and led away to Babylon.

§ 1.

NOW Nebuzaradan, the general of the army, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor and deserters in the country, and made Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of noble family, their governor. He was of a gentle and righteous disposition, and commanded them to till the ground, and pay a fixed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and urged him to go with him to Babylon, for he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatever he wanted: but if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell,

[1] I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Azarias, though he is omitted in all Josephus' copies, out of the Jewish chronicle, Sedar Olam, of how little authority soever I generally esteem such late rabbinical historians, because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was eighteen, Antiq. xx. 10, whereas his copies have here but seventeen.—W.

that he might signify the same to the king: but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell anywhere else, but was content to live among the ruins of his country and its miserable remains. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatever he wanted; and when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. So Jeremiah dwelt in a city of that country called Mizpah;[1] and begged of Nebuzaradan, that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neriah, who was of a very eminent family, and exceedingly skilful in the language of his country.

§ 2. When Nebuzaradan had done all this, he set out for Babylon: but as to those that had fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered all over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land about Jerusalem, who were to cultivate it, they flocked together from all parts to Gedaliah at Mizpah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, and Seraiah, and others besides them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalim, the king of the Ammonites, and dwelt with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them by oath: and said, that they should have him for their patron, and if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city they each pleased, and to send men with his own servants to rebuild the houses upon their old foundations, and dwell in them, and admonished them beforehand to lay up a stock, while they had time, of corn and wine and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had spoken thus to them, he dismissed them, that

[1] Probably the country north of Jerusalem, in the vicinity of *Neby Samwîl*.

every one might dwell in what place in the country he pleased.

§ 3. Now when it was spread abroad among the nations that bordered on Judæa, that Gedaliah kindly entertained the fugitives that went to him, the only condition being that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan and the rulers that were with him observed the state of the country, and the goodness and humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalim, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as he was of the royal family. And they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it. For they told him they were afraid that, if he was killed by Ishmael, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he declared that he could not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design on the part of a man that had been well treated by him; for it was not probable that one who, in such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary from him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor (when it would be great wickedness in him not to endeavour earnestly to save him, if he were treacherously assaulted by others) as to seek to kill him with his own hand. However, if he ought to suppose this information true, it was better for himself to be slain by him, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal.

§ 4. So Johanan and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away: but after thirty days had elapsed, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city of Mizpah, and ten men with him; and when Gedaliah had feasted Ishmael and those that were with him with a splendid table, and had given them presents, he became drunk, as he entertained them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was immersed in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and had fallen

asleep, he jumped up on a sudden with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah and those that were reclining with him at the feast. And when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also who had been left therein by the Babylonians. And the next day fourscore men came out of the country with presents for Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; and when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court-yard and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen. But Ishmael spared those of these fourscore men that entreated him not to kill them till they had delivered up to him what they had concealed in the fields, as furniture and raiment and corn. He also took captive the people that were in Mizpah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah. And when he had done all this, he went to the king of the Ammonites.

§ 5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what had been done at Mizpah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they were indignant at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and set out to fight against Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron. And when those that were carried away captive by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them away captive, and went over to Johanan. Then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, the eunuchs the women and the children, and went to a certain place called Mandra,[1] and there they abode that day. For they had determined to remove from thence and go into Egypt, fearing that the Babylonians would slay them in case they continued in the country, in their anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been set over it by them as governor.

§ 6. Now while this was their intention, Johanan, the

[1] A place apparently on the road to Egypt, not yet identified.

son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, went to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, and, because they were at an utter loss as to what they ought to do, that he would discover it to them, and they swore that they would do whatever Jeremiah should tell them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass ten days after that God appeared to him, and told him to inform Johanan and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians of whom they were afraid, while they continued in that country, but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, in his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already suffered. But when the prophet informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country, for they imagined he said so to gratify Baruch his own disciple, and belied God, and urged them to stay there that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. So both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.

§ 7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about to make an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt would be taken, and that the king of Babylon would slay some of them, and would take others captive, and bring them to Babylon. And all this came to pass. For in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Cœle-Syria, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he attacked Egypt in order to overthrow it: and he slew the king that then reigned, and set up another; and those Jews that were captive there he led away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the

Hebrews, who tradition tells us went twice beyond the Euphrates. For the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians in the days of king Hoshea; and afterwards those of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldæa. Now as to Shalmanezer, when he removed the Israelites out of their country, he placed therein instead the nation of the Cuthæans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were now called Samaritans, as they took the name of the country to which they were removed. But the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judæa and Jerusalem and the temple continued to be deserted for seventy years. And the entire interval of time from the captivity of the Israelites to the carrying away of the two tribes was a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon.

§ 1.

NOW Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took the most noble children of the Jews, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors for their education, castrating some of them (which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age), and supplied them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the customs of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldæans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in the wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among them were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias: but the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that

they should have other names; Daniel he called Baltasar —Ananias, Shadrach — Misael, Meshach — and Azarias, Abednego. These the king held in esteem and continued to love, because of their very excellent natural dispositions, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they made in wisdom.

§ 2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a plain diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear from eating animal food, so he went to Aschanes, the eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and asked him to take and use what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else that he pleased except animal food; for their inclinations were for that sort of diet, and they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from the thinness of their bodies and the alteration of their countenances, for their bodies and colours would be sure to change with their diet, especially as they would be clearly discovered by the finer condition of the other children who fared better, and so they would bring him in danger, and occasion his being punished. However they persuaded Aschanes in spite of his fears to give them the food they desired for ten days by way of trial, and in case the condition of their bodies was not altered, to go on in the same way, as it would be certain then that they would not be hurt thereby, but if he saw them look thin and worse than the rest, to put them to their former diet. Now when it appeared they were so far from becoming worse by the use of their food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed in poorer condition, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they lived in plenty and all sorts of luxury, Aschanes thenceforward fearlessly took himself what the king sent every day from his dinner according to custom to the lads, but gave them the forementioned diet. And thus they had their souls more pure and so fitter for learning, and their bodies in better tune for hard labour (for they had neither their minds op-

pressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were their bodies pampered on the same account); so they readily picked up all the learning of the Hebrews and Chaldæans, especially Daniel, who, being already sufficiently skilled in wisdom, was very apt in the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

§ 3. Now, two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the end of which God showed him in his sleep, but when he got up off his bed, he forgot it, so he sent for the Chaldæans and magicians and seers, and told them that he had seen a dream, but informed them that he had forgotten the end of what he had seen, and enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was and what its signification. But they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but promised him, if he would relate to them the dream he had seen, that they would tell him its signification. Thereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he commanded to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had commanded that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him the reason why the king had commanded that all the wise men and Chaldæans and magicians should be slain. And when he learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not, and had thereby provoked him to anger; he begged Arioch to go in to the king and ask a respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. And Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired: and the king bade them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew the result of Daniel's undertaking. And the young man retired to his own house with his kinsmen, and besought God all that night to save and deliver the magicians and Chaldæans, with whom they were themselves also to perish, from the

king's anger, by enabling him to declare the vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten. And God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and in regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might learn from him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad and hopeful that now they should preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So after he had with them returned thanks to God who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he went to Arioch, and asked him to bring him to the king, for he wished to tell him the dream which he had seen the night before.

§ 4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he first deprecated the idea that he pretended to be wiser than the other Chaldæans and magicians, as, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for it was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, "God had pity upon us, as we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself and of those of my own nation, he made manifest to me both the dream and the interpretation thereof. And indeed I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, since thou didst so unjustly command men both good and excellent to be put to death, enjoining them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiring of them what was the work only of God. Now as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God wished to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream. Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which was of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and thighs of brass, but the legs and feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image,

and threw it down, and broke it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became finer than meal, and, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows. The head of gold denotes thee and those that have been kings of Babylon before thee; and the two hands and arms signify this, that thy empire shall be destroyed by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy their empire; and another power that shall be like unto iron shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold and silver and brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king,[1] but I do not think proper to relate that, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or present, not things that are future: yet if anyone be so very desirous of knowing the truth, as not to waive such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for learning the uncertainties of futurity, let him carefully read the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

§ 5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this and recognized his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him, and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great

[1] Of this most remarkable passage in Josephus, concerning the 'stone cut out of the mountain, and destroying the image,' which he would not explain, but intimated to be a prophecy of futurity, and probably not safe for him to explain, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of Havercamp, chap. x. § 4, "Nor is this to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of that city, which they called the 'eternal city.'"—W.

danger through the envy and malice of [their enemies;] for they offended the king for the following reason. The king made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it up in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate it, he invited the principal men out of all his dominions, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened that those who did not do so should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they say that Daniel's kinsmen did not do this, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So they were immediately convicted and cast into the fire, but were saved by divine providence, and escaped death in a surprising manner, for the fire did not touch them: and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it, God making their bodies proof against the fire, so that it could not consume them. This recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in all honour with him.

§ 6. A little after this the king saw again in his sleep another vision, that he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, and Daniel was the only person that explained it, and as he foretold, so it came to pass. For after Nebuchadnezzar had continued in the desert the forementioned time, as no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and did return to it. Let no one blame me for writing down everything of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for I plainly assured those that should think me defective in any point,

or complain of anything, and told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised to set them forth, without adding anything of my own, or taking anything away.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his Successors: and how their Empire was destroyed by the Persians; and what befell Daniel in Media, and what Prophecies he delivered there.

§ 1.

NOW when Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says thus: "When his father Nabopalassar heard that the satrap whom he had set over Egypt and the region about Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, as he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war,] he committed some parts of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, and sent him against him. And when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it part of his own kingdom. And it happened about this time that his father Nabopalassar fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when Nebuchadnezzar heard, as he did in a little time, that his father was dead, he settled the affairs of Egypt and the rest of the country, as also those that concerned the captive Jews and Phœnicians and Syrians and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed to certain of his friends the conveyance of them to Babylon, together with the bulk of his army and the baggage, he went himself hastily with a very few others over the desert, and reached Babylon. He then took upon him the management of

public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one who was the best of the Chaldæans, and became master of the entire dominions of his father, and ordered that, when the captives came, they should be assigned colonies in the most convenient parts of Babylonia: and adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner at his own expense with the spoils he had taken in war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and built it so that such as might besiege it hereafter could no more turn the course of the river, and so attack the city itself: he therefore built three walls round the inside of the city, and three others round the outside, and this he did partly with burnt brick and bitumen, partly with brick alone. And after he had worthily fortified the city and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but close to it; to describe whose vast height and splendour it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt, yet large and lofty as it was, it was completed in fifteen days.[1] He also erected in the palace elevated places for walking in stone, and made them resemble mountains, and built them so that they might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a hanging park, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the region of Media." Megasthenes also makes mention of these things in the fourth book of his account of India, where he endeavours to show that this king exceeded Hercules in bravery and in the greatness of his actions, for he says he conquered Iberia and most of Libya. Diocles also mentions this king in the second book of his account of Persia, and Philostratus, in his histories of India and

[1] These fifteen days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon, in Josephus's copy of Berosus, would seem too absurd to be supposed to be the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion, § 19, with the same number. It thence indeed appears that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number, but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us that the walls of so much smaller a city as Jerusalem were two years and four months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could, Antiq. xi. 5, § 8. I should think 115 days, or a year and 15 days, much more proportionable to so great a work.—W.

of Phœnicia, says that this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, at the same time that Ithobalus reigned at Tyre. These are all the accounts that I have met with concerning this king.

§ 2. Now, after the death of Neubuchadnezzar, his son Evil-Merodach succeeded him in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him as one of his most intimate friends: he also gave him many presents, and honoured him above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself with his wives and children and whole kindred for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege and utterly destroyed, as I have already described. And when Evil-Merodach died after a reign of eighteen years, Niglisar his son succeeded to the throne, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life. And after him the succession to the kingdom came to his son Labosordachus, who continued in it only nine months; and when he died it came to Baltasar,[1] who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus. Against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and portentous sight. He was reclining at supper in a large room made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines and friends. And he thought good and com-

[1] It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the king whom he himself here styles 'Baltasar' (or 'Belshazsar,' from the Babylonian god Bel), 'Naboandelus' also; and in the first book against Apion, § 20, from the same citation out of Berosus, 'Nabonnedus,' from the Babylonian god Nabo or Neho. This last is not remote from the original pronunciation itself in Ptolemy's canon, 'Nabonadius,' for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, demonstrate that it is the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth noting, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks, though it does not appear he knew what that name was, never having seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's: but then what Josephus's copies say presently, § 4, that it was only within 'no long time' after the hand-writing on the wall that Baltasar was slain, does not so agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was 'the same night,' Dan. v. 30.—W.

manded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered Jerusalem of, and had not made use of, but had put them in his own temple, should be brought. He also was so audacious as to proceed to use them in his cups, drinking out of them and blaspheming against God, when he saw a hand come out of the wall, and write upon the wall certain syllables. Being troubled at this sight he called all the magicians and Chaldæans together, and all sorts of men among the Babylonians able to interpret signs and dreams, to explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could not discover nor understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind and great trouble at this surprising thing; so he caused it to be proclaimed throughout all the country, and promised that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give a golden chain for his neck, and allow him to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldæa, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the meaning of the writing, but still doubted about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother saw him cast down at this, she began to encourage him, and to say that there was a certain captive who came from Judæa, a Jew by birth, but brought away by Nebuchadnezzar when he destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone; who brought to light and answered such questions of Nebuchadnezzar, as no one else was able to answer, when they were consulted. She therefore begged that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and so condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find its meaning, even though what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

§ 3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had told him what he had heard concerning him and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him, and how he alone was very capable of finding out what others could never understand, he desired him to point out

to him what this writing meant: for if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and would put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominions, as an honour and reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become most illustrious to those who saw him, and inquired why he had obtained such honours. But Daniel desired that he would keep his gifts to himself (for what was wise and divine admitted of no gifts, and bestowed its advantages on petitioners freely), but still he explained the writing to him, which denoted that he should soon die, and that because he had not learnt to honour God, and not to attempt things too high for human nature, by the punishment his progenitor had undergone for the outrages he had offered to God; for he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power who takes care of mankind. But he had forgotten all this, and had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels with his concubines. And God had seen this, and was angry with him, and declared beforehand by this writing what a sad conclusion of life he should come to. And he explained the writing as follows. "MANE. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, will signify a *Number*, because God has numbered so long a time for thy life and kingdom, and there remains but a small time for you. THEKEL. This signifies a *Weight*, and means that God has weighed the time of thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. PHARES. This in the Greek tongue denotes a *Fragment*. God will therefore break thy kingdom into fragments, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

§ 4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified this, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, since the interpretation was so heavy against him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, though he was a prophet of evils to him, but bestowed them all upon him, reasoning that the threatened overthrow of his kingdom came from

fate and necessity and not from the prophet, and that it was the part of a good and just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do: and no long time after both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who led an army against him: for it was Baltasar under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this was the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us. And Darius was sixty-two years old when Babylon was taken by him, and when he with his kinsman Cyrus overthrew the empire of the Babylonians. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. And he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three satraps whom he set over his three hundred and sixty satrapies, for so many did Darius make.

§ 5. Now Daniel being held in such great honour and wonderful favour with Darius, and being alone intrusted with everything by him, as having somewhat divine in him, was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings envy them. And when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion to calumniate and accuse him, he afforded them no opportunity at all, for as he was above all temptations of money and despised bribes, and esteemed it a very base thing to take anything by way of reward even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for accusations. So as they could find nothing that was shameful or reproachful, for which they might calumniate him to the king, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method, whereby they might get him out of the way. As therefore they observed that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had got a pretext by which they might ruin him. So they went to Darius, and told him, that the satraps and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, during which time no one was to offer a petition or prayer either to him or to

the gods, and whoever transgressed this decree was to be cast into the den of lions, and there perish.

§ 6. Thereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and promised to ratify what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people the decree which the satraps had made. And all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested quiet, but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, persistently prayed to God in the sight of them all. Then the satraps, having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, went at once to the king, and accused Daniel as the only person that had transgressed the decree, for nobody else dared to pray to the gods. This discovery they made, not because of their piety, but because they had watched him and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius, having greater kindness to him than they wished, would be ready to grant him a pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become any milder, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. Then Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible from the wild beasts, bade him bear what should happen cheerfully. And when Daniel was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den instead of a door, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel. And when it was day, he got up and came to the den, and found the seal unbroken, which he had left the stone sealed with; so he opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him, If he were safe? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king ordered that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing that was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God and his providence; but they said that the lions had had their fill of food, and so it was, they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come

near him; and this they said to the king. But he, hating them for their wickedness, gave order, that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the satraps had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry and wanted food. I suppose, therefore, it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that whetted their appetite; for if it so pleased God, that wickedness might be esteemed even by those irrational creatures a plain ground for their punishment.

§ 7. When therefore those that had plotted against Daniel were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped, and said, that he was the only true God and almighty. He also held Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the first of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, because of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana[1] in Media: it was a most elegant building and wonderfully made, and still remains and is preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to be no older than the very day when anyone looks upon it, it is so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time. And yet buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia, in this tower to this day; and he who was intrusted with the care of it was a Jewish priest; which custom is also observed to this day. But it is right to give an account of what this Daniel did, which is most wonderful to hear, for all things went wonderfully well with him, as one of the greatest

[1] Probably *Takht-i-Suleiman*, in Persia.

of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and good opinion both of the kings and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he has a remembrance that will never die. For the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us to this day, and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God. For he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time of their accomplishment: and while other prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and so were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, so that by the agreeable nature of his predictions he procured the goodwill of all men, and by the accomplishment of them he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of divine power in himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions. For he says that when he was in Susa,[1] the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the plain with his companions, there was on a sudden an earthquake and commotion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends fleeing away from him; and that he was disturbed and fell on his face and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and at the same time bade him rise and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related that when he stood up he was shown a great ram, with many horns growing out of its head, and that the last was higher than the rest; and after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat borne through the air from that quarter, which rushed upon the ram with great violence, and smote it twice with its horns, and overthrew it to the ground, and trampled upon it. Afterwards he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were turned to each of the four winds. And he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which he said waxed great; and God showed to him that it would fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple-worship to

[1] Now *Sûs.*

confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days. Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and informs us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision in the following manner. He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory; that the goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion; that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the turning of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome the Jewish nation and their laws, and should take away their polity, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices being offered for three years' time. And so indeed it came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and to what he wrote many years before it came to pass. In the same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did he leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, so that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord without a ruler and guardian; for were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as

they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see submerged by the winds, or like chariots without drivers which are overturned, and would be dashed to pieces by chance motion, and so perish and come to nought. So that, by the fore-mentioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who declare that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if it were the case that the world went on by chance, we should not see all things come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS.—FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

How Cyrus, King of the Persians, let the Jews go out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and to build their Temple, for which Work he gave them Money.

§ 1.

IN the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed ont of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of those poor people, as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and

enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them. For he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write throughout all Asia, "Thus saith Cyrus the king. Since God Almighty has appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is the God whom the nation of the Israelites worship. For indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him an house at Jerusalem in the country of Judæa."

§ 2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book of his prophecies which Isaiah left behind him two hundred and twenty years before. For that prophet had said, that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, shall send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was written; so he called the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and told them that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem and the temple of God, for he would be their friend, and would write to the governors and satraps that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judæa, to contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that beasts for their sacrifices.

§ 3. When Cyrus had announced this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, set out for Jerusalem. But many stayed at Babylon, not being willing to leave their possessions. And when they were got to Jerusalem, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been usual in old times, as though their city had been rebuilt, and the ancient practices relating to their worship had been revived. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had robbed the temple of, and had carried to Babylon. And he committed them to Mithridates, his

treasurer, to take away, with an order to give them to Abassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built, and when it was finished deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent a letter to the satraps that were in Syria, the contents whereof are as follows.

"KING CYRUS TO SISINES AND SARABAZANES, GREETING.

I have given leave, to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please, to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same site where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same breadth, making three layers[1] of polished stone, and one of the wood of the country; and similarly with the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I wish also the expense of these things to come out of my revenues. I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar robbed the temple of, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may carry them to Jerusalem, and restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: fifty ewers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty drinking cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels of gold for pouring the drink-offerings, and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which their forefathers were used to have, for their cattle and wine and oil two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmæ, and for wheat flour twenty thousand and five hundred artabæ. And I order that these expenses be furnished out of the tribute from Samaria. The priests shall also offer their

[1] The word is similarly used in Herodotus, i. 179; ii. 127. Compare also Chapter IV. in our author.

sacrifices in Jerusalem according to the laws of Moses, and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. And my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." Such was the import of this letter. Now the number of those that returned from captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

CHAP. II.

How, upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in the building of the Temple by the Cuthæans, and the neighbouring Governors; and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to build the Temple.

§ 1.

WHEN the Jews were laying the foundations of the temple, and were very zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, especially the Cuthæans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel into captivity, besought the satraps, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were bribed by them, they sold the Cuthæans authority to make this building a slow and careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy in various wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he led his army against the Massagetæ, he ended his life there.[1] But when Cambyses,

[1] Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythians and Massagetæ, near the Caspian Sea, and perished in it; while Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace, in his own country of Persia, is attested to by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cyrus' sepulchre at Pasargadæ, near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon's is also confirmed by the fact that Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus, instead

the son of Cyrus, had taken over the kingdom, some of those in Syria, and Phœnicia, and the countries of Ammon and Moab, and in Samaria, wrote a letter to Cambyses, whose contents were as follows. "To our lord Cambyses, we thy servants, Rathymus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phœnicia, send greeting. It is fit, O king, that thou shouldest know that those Jews who were carried captive to Babylon, are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city and its market-places, and are setting up walls, and raising up the temple. Know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others than to be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, as the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels and enemies to kings, as has their city been also, which for that reason had been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely girt with walls, thy way will be barred to Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia."

§ 2. When Cambyses had read this letter, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him, and wrote back to them as follows. "Cambyses the king to Rathymus the historiographer, to Belsemus, to Semellius the scribe, and to the rest that are joined with them and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnicia, after this manner. I have read the letter that was sent by you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it was there found that this city has always been

of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagetæ, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there, went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, page 644, and conquered that kingdom; nor is there, that I ever heard of, the least mention in the reign of this Cambyses of any war against the Scythians and Massagetæ that he was ever engaged in all his life.—W.

an enemy to kings, and that its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We are also aware that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. Therefore I give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build this city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this letter was read, Rathymus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, mounted on horseback at once, and made haste to Jerusalem. They also took a great company with them, and prevented the Jews building the city, and the temple. So these works were hindered from going on nine years more, till the second year of the reign of Darius, for Cambyses reigned six years, and in that time overthrew Egypt, and on his return died at Damascus.

CHAP. III.

How, after the Death of Cambyses, and the Slaughter of the Magi, and in the Reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the Solution of Problems, and thereby obtained this Favour of the King, that the Temple should be Built.

§ 1.

AFTER the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, ruled over the Persians for a year, those who were called the seven houses of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send back all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that were in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem: for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also thought worthy to be with two others guard of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

§ 2. Now in the first year of his reign Darius feasted

those that were about him, and those born in his house, and the rulers of the Medes, the satraps of the Persians, the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of his hundred and twenty-seven satrapies. And when they had eaten and drunk abundantly, even to satiety, they every one departed to their own houses to go to bed, and Darius the king also went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awoke, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with his three body-guards, and promised, that to him who, on points that he should inquire about, should make the truest and wisest answer, he would grant, as a reward of his victory, to put on purple, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a tiara of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself on account of his wisdom; and he added, "he shall be called my kinsman." Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest? The second, Whether kings were not such? And the third, Whether women were not such? Or, Whether truth was not the strongest of all? When he had proposed to them these problems, he went to rest; and in the morning he sent for his great men, and satraps, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and sat down in the place where he used to give audience, and bade each of his body-guards declare in the hearing of them all what they thought of the proposed questions.

§ 3. Then the first of them began to speak of the power of wine, setting it forth thus. "When (said he) I think about the strength of wine, I find, Sirs, that it exceeds everything by the following indications. It trips up and deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state as that of the orphan and one who needs a tutor, and erects that of the slave to the boldness of the freeman, and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man. For it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them, and it quenches the sorrow of those that are in calamities, and makes men forget their debts and think themselves of all men the richest, so that they talk of no small things, but of

talents, and such sums of money as become wealthy men only. Nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders and kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions. For it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them, and when they are become sober, and have slept off their wine in the night, they arise without knowing anything they have done in their cups. By these facts I infer and find that wine is the strongest and most powerful of all things."

§ 4. As soon as the first had given the fore-mentioned proofs of the strength of wine, he left off, and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than anything else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his proof in the following manner. "Men govern all things; they force the earth and sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule and have authority. Now, those men who rule over that animal, which is the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and strength. For example, when kings command their subjects to make war and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to, and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed, and they command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers. Nay, when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have got in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground and plough it, when they have reaped and gathered in their fruits (after they have endured the labour and all the hardship of such works of husbandry) bring tribute to the king. And whatever the king says or commands is done of necessity without any delay. He in the meantime is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasure, and sleeps in quiet, and is guarded by such as watch and are fixed down as it were to the place through fear, for no one ventures to leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does

anyone go away and see to his own affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, namely, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, as so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

§ 5. Now when this man had also held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women and truth, and spoke as follows. "Wine is strong, as is the king also whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power. For it was a woman that brought the king into the world, and women bear and bring up those that plant vines which produce wine, nor indeed is there anything which we do not receive from women. For they weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by them taken care of and looked after, nor can we live apart from women. And when we have got a great deal of gold and silver, or any other thing that is of great value and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all those things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy and possess her beauty. We also leave father and mother and the earth that nourished us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women, nay, we venture to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you see the power of women is the following consideration. Do we not take pains and endure a great deal of trouble both by land and sea, and when we have procured something as the fruit of our labours, do we not bring it to the women as to our mistresses, and bestow it upon them? Nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by his concubine Apame, the daughter of Rabezacus Thaumasius, and his diadem taken from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently: and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions he fawned upon her, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him."

§ 6. And when the satraps and rulers looked at one

another, he began to speak about truth, and said: "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are: but both they and the king himself are weaker than truth. For although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet all these are moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we ought to esteem truth to be strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous to be of no force against it. Moreover all things else that have any strength are mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us indeed not such beauty as will wither away with time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from unrighteousness and puts it to rebuke."

§ 7. And when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the best, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength and would never wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for something over and above what he had promised, for he would give it him because of his wisdom and prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; "and thou shalt sit with me," added the king, "and be called my kinsman." When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made, in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God, as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged and carried to Babylon. "And this," said he, "is the request which thou now permittest me to make, because I have been judged to be wise and understanding."

§ 8. And the king was pleased with what he said, and arose and kissed him, and wrote to the toparchs and satraps, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to the rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia, to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should return to Judæa should be free, and he prohibited his deputies and satraps from laying any king's taxes upon the Jews; he

also permitted them to have all the land which they could possess themselves of without tribute. He also enjoined the Idumæans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, to restore the villages which they had taken from the Jews, and besides all this to contribute fifty talents for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and whatever the high priest and the priests wanted, and the sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, were to be supplied at his own expense, as also the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God. Moreover he ordered that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a fixed sum of money every year for their maintenance. Darius also sent back the vessels, and also ordered that all that Cyrus had intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, should be done.

§ 9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and, looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I should not have been thought worthy of these things, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favourable to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present, and had prayed him to show him the like favour for the time to come, he went to Babylon, and brought to his countrymen the good news of the various grants he had procured for them from the king. And they, when they heard of the same, gave thanks also to God for restoring the land of their forefathers to them again. And they betook themselves to drinking and revelling, and for seven days continued feasting and keeping festival for the recovery and restoration of their country. After this they chose themselves rulers out of the tribes of their forefathers, who should go up to Jerusalem with their wives and children and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, making melody with harps and pipes and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also accompanied them with rejoicing.

§ 10. And thus did these men return, a certain and definite number out of every family. I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow my narrative. But the sum of those that went up of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, above the age of twelve years, was four millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand;[1] the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two. And besides these, there were one hundred and twenty-eight singers of the Levites, and one hundred and ten porters, and three hundred and ninety-two sacred servants. There were also others besides these six hundred and sixty-two, who said they were Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies. Some also of the priests were expelled from their office, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: these were about five hundred and twenty-five. The multitude also of servants that followed those that returned to Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts of burden were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five. And the leaders of all this multitude

[1] This strange reading in Josephus's copies of 4,000,000 instead of 40,000, is one of the grossest errors that is in them, and ought to be corrected from Ezra, ii. 64, 1 Esd. v. 40, and Neh. vii. 66, who all agree the general sum was but about 42,360. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, that when Esdras afterwards brought up another company out of Babylon and Persia in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as these, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than 'a seed' and 'a remnant,' while an immense number of the ten tribes never returned, but, as he believed, continued beyond the Euphrates, chap. v. § 2, 3. Of these Jews beyond the Euphrates he speaks frequently elsewhere; though, by the way, he never takes them to be idolaters, but looks on them still as observers of the laws of Moses. The 'certain part' of the people that now came up from Babylon, at the end of this chapter, imply the same smaller number of Jews that now came up, and will no way agree with the 4,000,000.—W.

thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek, the high priest. And besides these there were Mordecai and Serebæus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred minæ of gold, and five thousand of silver. Thus the priests and the Levites, and a definite part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, returned and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude went each to their own parts of the country.

CHAP. IV.

How the Temple was Built, and how the Cuthæans endeavoured in vain to obstruct the Work.

§ 1.

NOW in the seventh month after they had departed from Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers all round, and gathered together those that were in the country to Jerusalem *en masse*, who came very gladly thither. They then built the altar on the same place on which it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But in doing this they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bore ill-will to them, They also celebrated the feast of Tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it, and after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the continual sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths and for all holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were willing and ready to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon, to bind them together and make a raft of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that

was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

§ 2. In the second year of their return to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set as overseers over the work such Levites as were full twenty years old, and Jeshua and his sons and brothers, and Zodmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons. And the temple was finished sooner than anyone would have expected from the great diligence of those that had the care of it. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, and with their trumpets, and the Levites and sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all showed them how to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the older men in the families, recollecting how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, and seeing how inferior this now made was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. So they were dejected, and not able to contain their grief at it, and proceeded as far as to lament and shed tears. But the people in general were contented with their present condition, and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations. But the wailing of the old men and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple in their opinion, compared with that which had been demolished, prevailed over the sound of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

§ 3. Now when the Samaritans, who were hostile to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they ran up and desired to know what was the reason of this noise. And when they perceived that it was the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they went to

Zorobabel and Jeshua and the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship your God no less than you and pray to him, and are desirous of your religion, ever since Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, transplanted us from Cuthia and Media to this place." When they said this, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that it was impossible for them to permit them to share in the building, as they [only] had been appointed to build that temple, at first by Cyrus and now by Darius, but it was lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and they could allow them nothing in common with them but what was common to all other men, namely, to come to their temple and worship God there.

§ 4. When the Cuthæans heard this, (for the Samaritans have that appellation,) they were indignant at it, and urged the nations of Syria to ask the satraps, as they had formerly done in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses after him, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and hinder the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisines the governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and Sarabazanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, "By whose permission it was that they built the temple so that it was more like a citadel than a temple? and why it was they built porticoes and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city?" To which Zorobabel and the high priest Jeshua replied, that they were the servants of the most high God, and that the former temple was built for him by a king of theirs that enjoyed great prosperity, and exceeded all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and Chaldæans, because of their fathers' impiety towards God, took their city by storm and destroyed it, and pillaged and burnt down the temple, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon: and that Cyrus, who was after him king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote that the temple should be built, and committed the votive offerings and vessels, and whatever

Nebuchadnezzar had taken from it, to Zorobabel and Mithridates the treasurer, and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and restored to their own temple when it was built. And he enjoined them to do it speedily, and commanded Abassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to see to the building of the temple; who, upon receiving a letter from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations: and although it had been in building from that time to this, it had not yet been finished because of the malignity of their enemies. If therefore you have a mind and think proper, write account of this to Darius, that when he has consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about the matter."

§ 5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisines and those that were with him resolved not to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this, and immediately wrote to him about it. And as the Jews were now terrified and afraid lest the king should change his mind as to the building of Jerusalem and the temple, two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zachariah, encouraged them, and bade them be of good cheer and suspect no hindrance from the Persians, for God foretold this to them. So they applied themselves earnestly to the building in reliance on those prophets, and did not intermit one day.

§ 6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their letter had accused the Jews of fortifying the city, and building the temple more like a citadel than a temple, and said that their doings were not for the king's advantage, and also showed the letter of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple, and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not for his interest, and when he had read the letter that was brought him from Sisines and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. And a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple and altar should be built in Jerusalem; its

height was to be threescore cubits, and its breadth the same, with three layers of polished stone, and one of wood of their own country: and he ordered that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged and carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of these things should belong to Abassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phœnicia, and to his associates, not to meddle in the place, but to permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordered that they should contribute towards the work, and supply the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, for the sacrifices, bulls and rams and lambs and kids of the goats, and fine flour and oil and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians. As for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be arrested and crucified, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God that, if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain him from his wickedness."

§ 7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisines and his associates, whose contents were as follows. "King Darius to Sisines the governor, and to Sarabazanes, greeting. Having found a copy of the enclosed letter among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it to you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Farewell." So when Sisines, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews and the princes of the Sanhedrim, and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zachariah according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of the kings Cyrus and Darius. Now the temple was built in seven years, and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third

day of the twelfth month, which is called by us Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Levites and the rest of the Israelites offered sacrifices, (to commemorate the renewal of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt,) a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites), and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set porters at every gate according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple round about the temple itself.

§ 8. And as the feast of Unleavened Bread was at hand, in the first month, which according to the Macedonians is called Xanthicus, but according to us Nisan, all the people flocked in from the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had restored them to the land of their fathers and to its laws, and had made the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. And they offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and had a form of government that was partly aristocratical, partly oligarchical. For the high priests were at the head of affairs, until the posterity of the Asamonæans set up kingly government: for before the captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they had first kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; and before those kings, such rulers governed as were called Judges and Dictators. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years, after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their leader. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

§ 9. But the Samaritans, being enviously and evilly dis-

posed against the Jews, wrought them much mischief, relying on their riches, and pretending that they were akin to the Persians, since from thence they came; and whatever they were enjoined by the king's order to pay the Jews out of the tribute for the sacrifices, they would not pay. They had also the governors favourable to them and assisting them in that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt the Jews, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the people of Jerusalem determined to send an embassage to king Darius to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers. And as soon as the king heard from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them a letter to carry to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents were as follows. "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Samaritans, also to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow-servants that are in Samaria. Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the sums which I commanded you for the offering of the sacrifices. My will therefore is that, upon the reading of this letter, you supply them with whatever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury of the tribute of Samaria, as the priests shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." Such were the contents of the letter.

CHAP. V.

How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews: as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.

§ 1.

UPON the death of Darius, his son Xerxes succeeded to the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things like his father as to

divine worship, and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Also there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude, he was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and was a favourite with king Xerxes. He determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon, and he desired that the king would give him a letter to the satraps of Syria, that they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following letter to those satraps. "Xerxes, king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting. I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let everyone that has a mind go, (for so it has seemed good to me and to my seven counsellors,) in order to review affairs in Judæa, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, as well as all the silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians which was dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem for sacrifices to God. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia, to see to the affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God according to the law, as far as a hundred cors of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition or tribute upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according

to the wisdom given thee by God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phœnicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it, that if anyone of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it. And such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

§ 2. When Esdras had received this letter, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and for that reason he gave all the glory to God. And he read the letter at Babylon to the Jews that were there, but he kept it, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews understood the piety the king had towards God, and the kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; and many of them took their effects with them and came to Babylon, yearning to return to Jerusalem. But the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country. So there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, for the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates even now, and are an immense multitude that cannot be numbered. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Esdras. So he gathered together those that were in captivity beyond the Euphrates, and stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortune by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other mischance. For Esdras had told the king beforehand that God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. And when they had finished their prayers, they removed from the Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and got to Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year. And Esdras at once presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, six hundred and fifty talents of silver,

vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, and vessels of brass that was more precious than gold [1] twelve talents by weight; for these presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. And when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls for the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, and seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's letter to the king's officers, and to the governors of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; and as they were obliged to do what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and assisted them in all their necessities.

§ 3. Now all these things were done under the advice of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of success in his plans on account of his goodness and righteousness. And some time afterwards there came some persons to him, who brought an accusation against certain of the multitude and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their polity and broken the laws of their country by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Thereupon he immediately rent his garments in his grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to put away their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, and also themselves wept and joined in the grief he was in for what had been done. Then Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said that he was ashamed to look towards it because of the sins which the people had com-

[1] Dr. Hudson takes notice here, that this kind of brass or copper, or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper, was called 'aurichalcum,' which was of old esteemed the most precious of metals.—W.

mitted, who had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness: and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, to forgive them also the sins they had now committed, for, though they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to them the punishment due.

§ 4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were in lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him and said that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and urged him to adjure them all to put away those wives and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the chief men of the priests and Levites and Israelites swear that they would put away those wives and children according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went at once out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and their substance appropriated according to the decision of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians Apellæus. Now, as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, who suffered greatly from the cold, Esdras stood up and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; and that they would now do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they put those wives away. And they all cried out that they would do so, but that the

multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. "Let the rulers, therefore [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a fixed time, and let the elders of every place estimate the number of those that have thus married, and be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry for those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately put away their wives and the children which were born of them;[1] and in order to appease God they offered sacrifices, and slew rams as oblations to him. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he purified their practice in marriages, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

§ 5. Now when they kept the feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which faced east, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them, and did so from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future, and as for their past

[1] This procedure of Esdras, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, once for all, to the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to that natural affection or compassion for their heathen wives, and their children by them, which made it so hard for Esdras to correct it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reformation among Christians, the contrary conduct having ever been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or human passions, or prudential motives, are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so the blessing of God is forfeited, and the church still suffered to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. § 2.—W.

offences, they were vexed with themselves, and even went so far as to shed tears, considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they would have endured none of those miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home and not weep, for it was a festival, and they ought not to weep thereon, for it was not lawful to do so. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast and agreeable to a day of joy, and to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and guard to them against falling any more into the like offences. So upon Esdras's exhortation they began to feast, and when they had so done for eight days in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras for his reformation of the corruptions that had been introduced into their polity. And it came to pass after he had obtained this reputation among the people, that he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time also Joachim the high priest died, and his son Eliasib succeeded him in the high priesthood.

§ 6. Now there was one of the Jews that had been carried into captivity, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes, whose name was Nehemiah. As he was walking about in the suburbs of Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue, so he went to them and asked them whence they came? And when their answer was, that they came from Judæa, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was? and in what condition Jerusalem was? And they replied that they were in a bad state,[1] for their walls were thrown down to the ground, and the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, for in the day time

[1] This miserable condition of the Jews, and their capital, must have been after the death of Esdras, their former governor, and before Nehemiah came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem. Nor is that at all disagreeable to these histories in Josephus, since Esdras came in the 7th, and Nehemiah not till the 25th year of Xerxes, an interval of eighteen years.—W.

they overran the country and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country and from Jerusalem itself, and the roads were every day found full of dead men. At this Nehemiah shed tears, commiserating the calamities of his countrymen: and looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou allow our nation to suffer such great miseries, for we are made the prey and spoil of all men." And while he stayed at the gate and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went at once as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer. And as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him looking sad, he asked him why he was sad? Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and persuasion to his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than sad and in trouble of mind when I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire; but do thou grant me the favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." And the king gave him a sign that he freely granted him what he asked, and told him to carry a letter to the satraps, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatever assistance he wanted for what he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow, therefore," added the king, "and be cheerful henceforth in the performance of thy office." Then Nehemiah worshipped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance in the pleasure he had at the king's promises. And the king called for him the next day, and gave him a letter to carry to Adæus, the governor of Syria and Phœnicia and Samaria, wherein he gave him injunctions to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for the building.

§ 7. Now when he had gone to Babylon, and had taken with him thence many of his countrymen who voluntarily followed him, he arrived at Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the

letters to God,[1] he gave them to Adæus and the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them. "You know, O Jews, that our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, kept God in mind continually; and for the sake of their righteousness, he has not left off the care of you: indeed he has assisted me in gaining this leave from the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you therefore (who well know the ill-will the neighbouring nations bear to us, who, when once they perceive that we are in earnest about building, will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our work), in the first place to put your trust in God, as in one who will assist us against their hatred, and next to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall and divide the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, and according to every one's ability. And when he had added the promise, that he himself with his servants would assist them in the building, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work. They have been called Jews from the day that they came up from Babylon, after the tribe of Judah, which came first to those places, and so both they and the country gained that appellation.[2]

§ 8. Now when the Ammonites and Moabites and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Cœle-Syria,[3] heard that the building of the walls went on apace, they took it ill, and

[1] This showing king Xerxes' letters to God, or laying them open before God in the temple, is very like the laying open the letters of Sennacherib before him also by Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 14, Isa. xxxvii. 14, although this last was for a memorial, to put him in mind of the enemies, in order to move the divine compassion, and the present as a token of gratitude for mercies already received, as Havercamp well observes on this place.—W.

[2] Judæi, Judah, Judæa.

[3] Cœle-Syria is properly the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; but the name is sometimes used in a wider sense to denote the prolongation of the valley into the Valley of the Jordan, and it seems to be so used in this instance by Josephus.

proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intention. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought to destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear and alarm, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were going to make an expedition against them, by which means they were alarmed, and almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work, only he kept a number of men about him as a body-guard, and unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any toil in his desire to perfect the work. And thus did he take care of his own safety attentively and with great forecast, not that he feared death, but because he was persuaded that if he were dead, the walls for his fellow-citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also ordered that their shields should lie very near them, and he placed trumpeters at intervals of five hundred feet, and charged them if their enemies appeared, that they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and that their enemies might not fall upon them when they were unarmed. He also went about the rounds of the city by night, being never discouraged, either about the work itself, or about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for pleasure, but only out of necessity. And he underwent this toil for two years and four months:[1] for in so long time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth

[1] It may not be improper to remark here, with what unusual accuracy Josephus determines these years of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were built, viz. that Nehemiah came with his commission in the 25th year of Xerxes; that the walls were two years and four months in building, and that they were finished in the 28th year of Xerxes, § 7, 8. It may also be remarked further, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one infallible astronomical character, I mean an eclipse of the moon a little before the death of Herod the Great, Antiq. xvii. 6, § 4. Now on these two chronological characters in a great measure depend some of the most important points belonging to Christianity, viz. the explication of Daniel's seventy weeks, and the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspondence to these seventy weeks.—W.

year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. And when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and continued feasting for eight days. But when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the walls was finished, they were indignant at it. Now when Nehemiah saw that the city was thinly peopled, he exhorted the priests and Levites to leave the country and remove to the city and live there, and he built them houses at his own expense, and he commanded those of the people who were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites, having perpetually whereon they might live, might not leave the divine worship. And they willingly hearkened to the orders of Nehemiah, so the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. And when Nehemiah had finely done many other excellent things worthy of commendation, he died at a good old age. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he left the walls of Jerusalem as his eternal monument. They were built in the days of Xerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Esther and Mordecai and Haman: and how, in the Reign of Artaxerxes, the whole Nation of the Jews was in Danger of Perishing.

§ 1.

AFTER the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When he was ruler over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews,[1] with their wives and children, was in danger of

[1] Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther as no true history; and even our learned and judicious Dr. Wall, in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Canticles, or upon Esther, and seems thereby to give up this book, as well as he gives up the Canticles, as indefensible: I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if, as we

perishing: the reason of which I shall show in a little time, for it is proper first to give some account of this king, and how he married a Jewish wife of royal stock, who is related to have saved our nation. For when Artaxerxes had taken over the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, he made in the third year of his reign a costly feast for his friends and the nations of Persia and their governors, such an one as was proper for a king to make when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and it lasted a hundred and eighty days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors at Susa, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following; he caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that many ten thousands might recline. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for show. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force the guests to drink by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but permit every one of them to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. He also sent messengers throughout the country, and gave order that the people should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his accession to the kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather the women together, and make them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her to those that feasted with him, as she exceeded all women in beauty, and he sent and commanded her to come to the feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbade women to be seen by strangers, would not go to the king;[1] and though he

certainly ought to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under Artaxerxes Longimanus, as do both the Septuagint and Josephus. The learned Dr. Lee, in his posthumous dissertation on the second book of Esdras, page 25, also says, that "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day."—W.

[1] If the Chaldee paraphrast be right, that Artaxerxes intended to show Vashti to his guests naked, it is no wonder at all that she

often sent the eunuchs to her, she nevertheless stayed away and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he broke up the entertainment, and rose up and called for those seven Persians who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because though she was frequently summoned by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore ordered them to inform him what could be done against her by the law. Then one of them, whose name was Muchæus, said that this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading very unhappy lives with their wives if they were thus despised by them; for none of the wives would have any reverence for their husbands, having such an example of arrogance in the queen towards him who ruled over all. So he exhorted him to punish her severely, as she had been guilty of so great an affront to him, and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

§ 2. But the king being very fond of her could not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation with her, so he was in trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. Now when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to put the memory of his wife and his love for her out of his mind, and to send abroad over all the world, and search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for a wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the substitution of

would not submit to such an indignity; and if it were not so gross as that, yet it might, in the king's cups, be done in a way so indecent, as the Persian laws would not then bear, any more than the common laws of modesty. And that the king had some such design, seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these royal guests could be no strangers to the queen, nor unapprized of her beauty. However, since Providence was now paving the way for the introduction of a Jewess into the king's affections, to bring about one of the most wonderful deliverances which the Jewish or any nation ever had, we need not be further solicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce Vashti, and marry Esther.—W.

another, and the kindness he had to Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed by degrees on her that was with him. And he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave orders to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely, and bring them to him. Now when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was his name. He was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it so happened that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all, and the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of spectators principally upon her: so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take charge of her: and she was provided with sweet odours in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as these virgins' bodies needed to be perfumed with: for this course was used six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently prepared in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. And he, when he had lain with her, sent her back to the eunuch: but when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her in the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent couriers, called angari,[1] unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of his marriage. And Esther came to the royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head. Thus was she married, without making known to the king what nation she belonged to. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Susa, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

[1] See Herodotus, viii. 98; Xen. Cyr. 8. 6, 17; Matt. v. 41, xxvii. 32; Mark, xv. 21.

§ 3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his people should approach him unless summoned, when he sat upon his throne;[1] and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, to punish such as approached him without being summoned. However, the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any of those that approached him without being summoned; and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter I have said enough.

§ 4. Some time after this two eunuchs Bagathous and Theodestes plotted against the king, and Barnabazus, the servant of one of them, and by birth a Jew, got acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai through Esther made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and crucified the eunuchs, but gave no reward at the time to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bade the scribes set down his name in the records, and bade him stay in the palace, as a very intimate friend of the king.

§ 5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, an Amalekite by race, that used to visit the king, and when he did so the foreigners and Persians prostrated themselves before him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his country's laws, that he would not prostrate himself before a man. When Haman observed this, he inquired what his nationality was. And when he heard that he was a Jew, he was indignant, and said within himself, that whereas the Persians, who were free men, prostrated themselves before him, this man, who was no better than a slave, did not choose to do so. And as he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished, he

[1] Herodotus says, that this law [against any one's coming uncalled to the kings of Persia when they were sitting on their thrones] was first enacted by Deioces, *i.e.* by him who first withdrew the Medes from the dominion of the Assyrians, and himself first reigned over them. Thus also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Tenus, or Tenudus, that the offender might by them be punished immediately.—W.

rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, from which he sprung, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly, he went to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, dispersed over all the world under thy dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, having neither the same sort of divine worship that others have, nor using laws like the laws of others: at enmity with thy people and with all men both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give orders to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them either for slaves or for captives." And that the king might not be injured by the loss of the tribute which the Jews paid, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents, whenever he pleased; and he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a pest.

§ 6. When Haman made this petition, the king remitted him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. Then Haman having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree as from the king to all nations, the contents whereof were as follows. "Artaxerxes, the great king, sends this writing to the rulers of the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of as much of all the world as I desired, and have not been obliged to do any thing insolent or cruel to my subjects by my power, but have shown myself mild and gentle, and seen to their peace and good order, and have been studious that they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come; and whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who on account of his prudence and justice is the first in my esteem and in dignity, and only second to myself for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to laws and unruly to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and is ill-affected to our rule, I give order that these men, of whom Haman my second father hath informed us, be de-

stroyed with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none put pity to them before obedience to this decree. And I will this to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so, when all that have enmity to us are destroyed in one day, we may be allowed to spend our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was carried to the cities and all over the country, all made ready for the entire destruction and massacre of the Jews on the day before mentioned; and they were very zealous about it at Susa in particular. And the king and Haman spent their time in feasting and drinking together, but the city was troubled.

§ 7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what had been done, he rent his clothes and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out that a nation that had done no wrong was to be destroyed. And saying thus he went as far as the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that dress. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, who lamented and mourned on account of the calamities denounced against them. But when certain persons told the queen that Mordecai stood in the court-yard in mourning, she was troubled at hearing this, and sent out people to change his garments; but as he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the terrible occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Achratheus, who was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad event had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off at her desire the dress he had put on. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the reason of his mourning, and of the decree against the Jews which was sent by the king all over the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman had bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Susa to carry to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about the matter, and for the safety of her nation not to think it a dishonourable thing to put on a humble dress, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in great peril; for Haman, whose dignity was only

inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not summoned by the king, and that whoever went in to him without being summoned was slain, unless the king, if he wished to save any one, held out his golden sceptre to him; for to whomever he did so, although he went in without being summoned, that person was so far from being slain, that he obtained pardon, and was safe. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther, Mordecai bade him tell her that she must not look only to her own preservation, but the common preservation of her nation, for if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help for it from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. Then Esther sent the same messenger back to Mordecai and bade him go to Susa, and gather the Jews that were there together to an assembly, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it was against the law, and if she must die for it she would go through with it.

§ 8. And Mordecai did as Esther enjoined him, and made the people fast, and together with them besought God not to overlook his nation, particularly at that time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven them when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from the destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they ingloriously be slain, but he himself was the cause of the wrath of Haman, "because," said he, "I did not prostrate myself before him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord, and it is owing to his anger against me that he has contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The multitude offered up the same supplications, and entreated that God would see to their deliverance, and free the Israelites in every land from this calamity which was now coming upon them; for they saw it already before their eyes and expected it. Esther also

made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the ground, and putting on mourning apparel, and bidding farewell to meat and drink and all pleasures for three days; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and to make her words appear persuasive to the king, and to render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed in averting the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and in protecting those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they were still despised by him.

§ 9. When Esther had used this supplication to God for three days, she put off her mourning and changed her dress, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, one of whom supported her as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed her, and held up her large train (which swept along the ground) with the extremities of her fingers: and thus she came to the king, with a blush on her countenance, and a pleasant attractiveness in her behaviour and dignity. Yet did she go in to him with fear. And as soon as she came within sight of him, as he was sitting on his throne in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially as he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, immediately her joints failed her from the dread she was in, and she fainted in the arms of her handmaids.[1] But the king changed his mind, by the will of God, I suppose, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and leaped from his throne and took her in his arms, and brought her round, embracing her and speaking kindly to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to anticipate anything dreadful for coming to him without being summoned, for that law was made for subjects, so that she, who was a queen as much

[1] Surely we ought to read *ταῖς παρὰ πλευρὰν οὔσαις*. And so I have done.

as he a king, was entirely secure. As he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law, to free her from her fear. And after she had revived at this, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me to say what suddenly happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great and comely and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And as it was with difficulty and in a low voice that she could say so much, the king was in great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to look for the best, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her half his kingdom. Then Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper. He consented to it, and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bade Esther let him know what she desired, for she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to banquet with her.

§ 10. Now as the king promised to do so, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court-yard, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh and his friends, and when they were come, he told them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for he alone had that day supped with her with the king, and was also invited again for the next day; but he said he was not pleased at seeing Mordecai the Jew in the court-yard. Thereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give orders that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask of the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. And he commended her advice, and gave orders to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court-yard for the punishment of Mordecai. And it was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked hope of Haman, and as he knew what the event would be, was

pleased with what had been done. For that night he took away the king's sleep; and as he was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions, and to read them to him. And as he brought them and read them, one was found to have received an estate on account of his bravery on a certain occasion, and his name was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: and then the scribe came to Bagathous and Theodestes, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, whom Mordecai had informed against. And when the scribe read no more than that, and was going on to another event, the king stopped him, and inquired, whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him? And when he said there was nothing written about it, he bade him leave off, and inquired of those who were told off for that purpose, what hour of the night it was? And when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order that if they found any of his friends already come, and standing before the palace, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than usual, to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death. So when his servants said that Haman was before the palace, the king bade them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou only art my fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I greatly love, in a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that the opinion he should give would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king; so he gave that advice which he thought the best. He said, "If thou wouldest truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, make him ride on horseback, with the same garment on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that he whom the king honoureth obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, supposing that the honour would be his. And the king was pleased with the

advice, and said, "Go then, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse, and proclaim accordingly; for thou art (he added) my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; carry out therefore thyself what thou hast advised me to do. This shall be his reward from me for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and scarce knew what to do. However he went out and took the horse and purple garment and golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the palace clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that dress off, and put the purple garment on: but Mordecai, not knowing the truth, and thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou laugh so at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the safety he had procured him, when he had informed against the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on the purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on the man whom he loves and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home full of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened with tears. And they said that he would never now be able to be revenged on Mordecai, for God was with him.

§ 11. Now while they were thus talking to one another, Esther's eunuchs came to hasten Haman to supper; and one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, seeing the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house for Mordecai, inquired of one of the servants, why they had prepared it? And when he learned that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished, he held his peace for the time. Now when the king was feasting with Haman at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift she wished to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatever she had a mind to. She

then lamented the danger her people were in, and said that she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and so she spoke about the matter; for she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such an evil would not have been intolerable, but she desired that they might be delivered from this destruction. And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this, she then openly accused Haman, and proved that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was troubled at this, and bounded away from the banquet into the garden, Haman began to beg and beseech Esther to forgive him his offences, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's couch, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at that sight, said, "O thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou attempt to force my wife?" And when Haman was dismayed at this, and unable to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said he found a gallows at his house prepared for Mordecai, for the servant had told him so much upon his inquiry, when he went to summon Haman to supper. He said further, that the gallows was fifty cubits high. When the king heard this, he determined that Haman should be punished in no other manner than that which he had devised against Mordecai; so he gave orders that he should be hung immediately upon that gallows, and so die. And hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to recognize his wisdom and justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also, because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that what mischief anyone prepares against another, he, without knowing it, first contrives against himself.[1]

§ 12. Haman then, having immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, perished in this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also sent for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that

[1] See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 265; Ovid, *A. A.* i. 655, 656.

she was akin to him,) and gave him the ring which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai, and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Amadatha: for if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live any longer. And the king promised her, that he would not purposely do anything that should be disagreeable to her, nor go counter to what she desired, but bade her write what she pleased about the Jews in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it all over his kingdom, for those who read letters whose authority was secured by having the king's seal on them would no way oppose what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of his letter were as follows. "The great king Artaxerxes sendeth greeting to our rulers,[1] and to those that are our faithful subjects. Many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderfully kind treatment of those that bestowed it, act not only outrageously to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from men, and from their want of tact turn their abundant and unexpected blessings against the authors of them, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and escape the vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have the management of affairs

[1] The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal slaughter of the Jews, but only empowered the Jews to fight for their lives, and to kill their enemies if they attempted their destruction, seems to have been that old law of the Medes and Persians, not yet laid aside, that whatever decree was signed both by the king and his lords, 'could not be changed,' but remained unalterable, Daniel vi. 7-17, Esther i. 19, and viii. 9. And Haman having engrossed the royal favour might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by their rules irrevocable.—W.

committed to them by their friends, and bear private malice of their own against some others, deceive and persuade those that are in power to be angry at such as have done them no harm, by laying false accusations and calumnies, till they are in danger of perishing. Nor is this state of things only to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend henceforth to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to judge of actions by one's own knowledge, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. Haman, the son of Amadatha, an Amalekite by race and alien from the blood of the Persians, is a good example of what I mean, for though he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree as to be eventually called my father, and to be all along prostrated to, and to have honour paid him by all next to the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor wisely and soberly turn to good account the magnitude of his prosperity, nay, he even made a conspiracy against my kingdom and life, (though I gave him his authority,) by endeavouring to take off Mordecai, my benefactor and saviour, and by basely and treacherously asking to have Esther, the partner of my life and dominions, brought to destruction; for he wished by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends,[1] and to transfer the kingdom to others. But since I find that these Jews, who were devoted by this cursed fellow to destruction, are not wicked men, but conduct their lives in the best manner, and are men devoted to the worship of that God who has preserved the kingdom to me and my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the

[1] These words give an intimation as if Artaxerxes suspected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared, viz. That knowing the Jews would not be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agagite, Esth. iii. 1-10, or of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8-33, while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, he therefore endeavoured to destroy them.—W.

former letter, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, (to which if you do not attend you will do well,) but I also will that they have all honour paid to them. And I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them with his family before the gates in Susa, that punishment being sent upon him by God who seeth all things. And I charge you to publicly set up a copy of this letter throughout all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that, at the very season wherein their misery was to begin, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, namely on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God has made that day a day of salvation to them instead of a day of destruction. And may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us! And I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey anything that is contained in this letter, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. And let this letter be published throughout all the country that is under our rule, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before-mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

§ 13. Then the horsemen who carried these instructions went the ways which they were to go with speed. But as for Mordecai, as soon as he had put on the royal garment and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he appeared in public, and when the Jews who were at Susa saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also. And joy and the light of salvation came upon the Jews both in the cities and provinces upon the publication of the king's letter, so that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskins for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby. For on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians Dystrus, those that carried the king's letter gave them notice, that on the very day whereon their danger was to have been, they should destroy their enemies. And now the rulers of the satrapies, and tyrants and kings and

scribes, held the Jews in esteem, for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree had spread over all the country that was subject to the king, it so fell out that the Jews at Susa slew about five hundred of their enemies. And when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not know what had been done in the provinces, and asked her whether she would have any thing done further against them, for if so it should be done accordingly: she begged that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day, as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. And the king ordered the Jews to do so, being desirous not to oppose Esther. So they banded themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of their possessions. Now seventy-five thousand of their enemies were slain by the Jews that were in the provinces and in the other cities, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. Similarly the Jews that were in Susa gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the same month. Hence even now all the Jews all over the world keep festival these days, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to those Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and hand them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion, for since they were about to be destroyed in those days by Haman, they would do right, as they had escaped the danger in them, and inflicted punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them. For this cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phrurim [or Purim]. And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government, and also enjoyed the company of the queen: so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews during the reign of Artaxerxes.

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple; and how Bagoses offered many Injuries to the Jews; also what Sanballat did.

§ 1.

WHEN Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded him in the high priesthood: and when he also was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. The reason of this was as follows. Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. Relying on his support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger he slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime; and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done either by the Greeks or barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, for the people were on that very account enslaved and the temple polluted by the Persians. For when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you dared to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was about to go into the temple, they tried to prevent his doing so; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that committed murder in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Bagoses seized upon this pretext, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

§ 2. Now when John departed this life, his son Jaddus succeeded him in the high priesthood. He had a brother whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat,

who was sent into Samaria as satrap by Darius, the last king of Persia. He was a Cuthæan by race, of the same stock as the Samaritans. This man knew that the city of Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians and to the people of Cœle-Syria, so he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh, thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews would continue their good-will to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim; as also how Alexander made his Entry into the City of Jerusalem, and what Benefits he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Aegae[1] by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was descended from the family of the Orestæ. And his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom, and crossed over the Hellespont, and overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at the Granicus,[2] and marched into Lydia,[3] and subdued Ionia,[4] and overran Caria,[5] and attacked the region of Pamphylia,[6] as has been related elsewhere.

§ 2. Now the elders of Jerusalem, being very indignant that the brother of Jaddus the high priest, as he was married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, formed a party against him; for they esteemed his marriage an encouragement to such as should be desirous of

[1] The ancient capital of Macedonia, now *Vodena*.

[2] The *Koja Chai*, which falls into the *Sea of Marmora* near the *Dardanelles*.

[3] In the western part of Asia Minor; its capital was Sardis.

[4] The district of Asia Minor inhabitated by Ionian Greeks; it lay on the west coast, between Phocæa and Miletus.

[5] A country in the south-west angle of Asia Minor.

[6] A country on the south coast of Asia Minor, on the gulf of *Adalia*.

transgressing by marrying strange wives, and thought this would be the beginning of intercourse with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been the cause of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent. So they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and excluding him from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh went to his father-in-law Sanballat, and told him, although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet he was not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, for it was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. Then Sanballat promised not only to preserve to him his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of high priest, and to make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled over, if he would retain his daughter as his wife. He also said further, that he would build a temple like that at Jerusalem upon Mount Gerizim,[1] which is the highest of all the mountains in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elated by these promises, and stayed with Sanballat, supposing that he should get the high priesthood from Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was already in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of the priests and Levites were entangled in such marriages. For they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and gave them habitations also, in order in every way to gratify his son-in-law.

§ 3. About this time it was that Darius heard that Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his satraps in the battle of the Granicus, and was proceeding further; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the

[1] Now *Jebel et-Tôr*, south of *Nâblus*. Josephus is in error in supposing it to be the highest mountain in Samaria, for it is lower than Ebal. For a description of the ruins on its summit see the "Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1873," p. 66.

Macedonians before they should invade and conquer all Asia. So he crossed over the river Euphrates, and marched over Taurus the Cilician mountain,[1] and waited for the enemy at Issus[2] in Cilicia, intending there to give him battle. And Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down, and told Manasseh that he would at once perform his promises to him, directly Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their numerous host. But the event proved other than they expected, for Darius joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captive, and he fled into Persia. Then Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus, and when he had become master of Sidon, he besieged Tyre, and sent a letter to the Jewish high priest, bidding him send him some auxiliaries, and supply his army with provisions; and henceforth to pay to him the tribute he had formerly paid to Darius, and to choose the friendship of the Macedonians, for he should never repent of so doing. But the high priest answered the letter-carriers that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him, and said he would not break his word while Darius was in the land of the living. Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry, and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just on the eve of being taken, yet he threatened that, as soon as he had taken it, he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So he energetically pushed on the siege and took Tyre, and settled its affairs, and marched to the city of Gaza,[3] and besieged both the city and commander of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

§ 4. And Sanballat thought he had now got a good

[1] Darius crossed the Amanus Mountains, now the *Giaour Dagh*, east of the gulf of *Scanderûn*, and not the Taurus Mountains.

[2] On the plain north of *Alexandretta*, at the north-east corner of the Mediterranean.

[3] *Ghuzzeh*.

opportunity for his plan, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, went to Alexander, and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, told him that he would deliver up to him those places that were in his power, and gladly accept him as his lord instead of king Darius. And when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage and spoke to him about his plans. He told him that he had a son-in-law Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddus, and that there were many others of his own nation now with him that were desirous to have a temple in the region that was under him; and that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two, lest, if the nation was of one mind and united, upon any revolutionary attempt it should prove troublesome to him, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Thereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to do so, and he used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a very great honour that his daughter's children should have that dignity. But when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died, and Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem. And Jaddus the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony and dread, not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his previous contumacy. He therefore ordered the people to make supplications, and to join him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect and deliver the nation from the perils that were coming upon them. Thereupon God warned him in a dream, as he was asleep after he had offered sacrifice, to take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest were to appear in white garments, but that he and the priests were to meet the king in the garments proper to their order, without dread of any evil consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon this, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God, and acted entirely according to his dream, and waited for the coming of the king.

§ 5. And when he heard that the king was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and mass of the citizens. The procession was imposing, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached a place called Sapha,[1] which word, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple. Now when the Phœnicians and Chaldæans that followed the king thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torture the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure made probable, the very reverse of this happened. For Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood clothed in their fine linen, and the high priest in purple and gold robes, with his mitre on his head, and the golden plate in it whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also with one voice saluted Alexander, and surrounded him, whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were astonished at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who has honoured him with the high priesthood. For I saw this very person in a dream in these very robes, when I was at Dium[2] in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to cross over, for he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians. And so having seen no other in such robes, and now seeing this person in them, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the

[1] The 'Scopos' of Jewish War, ii. 19, § 4, 7, and v. 2, § 3. It was on the north road, on the brow of the hill overlooking Jerusalem, and seven furlongs from the city walls.

[2] Near the village of *Malathria*.

Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my mind." When he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he entered the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God according to the high priest's direction, and handsomely treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was shown him,[1] wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that he was the person meant, and full of joy dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him. Thereupon the high priest begged that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute every seventh year, and he granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do what they asked. And when he said to the people that if any of them would enlist in his army, on condition that they should continue in the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many engaged in his service.

§ 6. When Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army to the neighbouring cities. And as all the people to whom he went received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem[2] for their metropolis (a city situate near Mount Gerizim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation), seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews. For such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as I have already elsewhere stated, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are akin to them, confessing then the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune has befallen them, they immediately pretend to be related to them, saying that

[1] The place showed Alexander might be Dan. vii. 6, viii. 3-8, 20, 21, 22, xi. 3, some or all of them very plain predictions of Alexander's conquests and successors.—W.

[2] *Nâblus.*

they belong to them, and trace their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh. Accordingly, they met the king with splendour, and exhibited great zeal for his person, at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached him, having with them the troops that Sanballat had offered to send him, and they desired that he would come to their city and do honour to their temple also. And he promised that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit their tribute every seventh year, because they did not sow therein, he asked who they were that made such a petition. And when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians living at Shechem, he asked them again, whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am more thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites: but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because he designed to give them lands there which he did a little after in the Thebaid,[1] having ordered them to garrison that country.

§ 7. Now when Alexander was dead, his dominions were divided among his successors, but the temple upon Mount Gerizim remained. And if any one were accused by those at Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other offence of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time Jaddus the high priest died, and Onias his son succeeded him in the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

[1] The Thebaid on the Nile, in the vicinity of Luxor.

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

CHAP. I.

How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judæa by Deceit and Treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1.

NOW, when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled affairs in Judæa in the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his empire fell to many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus had Babylon and the other nations in that neighbourhood, Lysimachus got the Hellespont, and Cassander had Macedonia, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus got Egypt. And as these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual and long wars, and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in those times of distress, insomuch that all Syria through Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that appellation of Saviour[1] which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem through deceit and treachery: for as he entered the city on a sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he took the city without any trouble, as the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy, and they spent that day always in rest and quietness, and when he had made himself master of it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. And Agatharchides of Cnidos,[2] the historian of the

[1] Ptolemy *Soter*.
[2] Now Cape *Krio*, at the south-west corner of Asia Minor.

acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we had by it lost our liberty, for his words are as follows. "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a strong and great city, called Jerusalem, and allowed it to come into the hands of Ptolemy, being unwilling to take up arms, and so submitted to be under a hard master, because of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judæa, and from the places about Jerusalem, and Samaria, and Mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observance of oaths and covenants, from the answer they made to Alexander when he sent an embassage to them after he had beaten Darius in battle, he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges as citizens with the Macedonians themselves, and required of them to take oaths that they would keep fidelity to the posterity of him who committed those places to their care. And not a few other Jews went into Egypt of their own accord, attracted by the goodness of the soil and the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were dissensions between their posterity and the Samaritans, on account of their determination to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and this was their contention; those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices there; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus caused the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek Tongue; and set many Captives free; and dedicated many Gifts to God.

§ 1.

WHEN Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Ptolemy Philadelphus next had the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years save one. He caused the Jewish law to be interpreted, and set free a hundred and twenty thousand natives of Jerusalem who were in slavery in Egypt. The reason was as follows. Demetrius Phalereus, who was librarian to the king, was endeavouring, if it were possible, to collect all the books that were in the world, and to buy up whatever was anywhere valuable or agreeable, for he rivalled the king's inclination (who was very earnestly set upon collecting books). And when Ptolemy once asked him, How many myriads of books he had already collected? he replied that he had already about two hundred thousand books, but that, in a little time, he should have five hundred thousand. He also said that he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worth inquiring after and worthy of the king's library, but which, being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, would cause no small trouble to get translated into the Greek tongue; for the character in which they were written seemed to be like that which was the proper character of the Syrians, and its sound, when pronounced, was like theirs also, and this sound appeared to be peculiar to them. So he said nothing hindered their getting those books translated also, for as nothing was wanting that was necessary for that purpose, they might have their books also in the library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper, and he wrote to the Jewish high priest that this was to be done.

§ 2. Now there was one Aristæus, who was among the

king's most intimate friends, and on account of his moderation very acceptable to him. This Aristæus had resolved frequently before now to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he talked first with the captains of the king's bodyguards, Sosibius of Tarentum[1] and Andreas, and besought them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. And Aristæus, having received their assent, went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not right, O king, to allow ourselves to be deceived, but to lay the truth open. For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity and good nature; free them from the miserable condition they are in, for that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of Zeus,[2] because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their country for the honour of God, because they pay peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not akin to them by race, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

§ 3. When Aristæus had said this, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as are to be made free?" To which Andreas, who stood by, replied, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristæus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, that he ought to offer such a

[1] Now *Taranto*, in Southern Italy.
[2] Deriving Ζεὺς from ζῆν, to live.

thank-offering, as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this answer he was much pleased, and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down twenty drachmæ for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristæus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to over four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of this this decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king might be made known. Its contents were as follows. "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waste Judæa, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities and into our country, and then sold them, set them free, as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, let their owners receive twenty drachmæ for every slave; and let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury. For I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent and against equity, and that their country was harassed by the licence of our soldiers, who, by removing them into Egypt, made a great profit out of them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been oppressed contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have Jews in their service to set them at liberty upon receipt of the beforementioned sum, and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their names, within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to carry it out, and produce the slaves before them also, for I think this will be for the advantage of my affairs. And let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree, and I will that their estates be confiscated to the king's trea-

sury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained all else that is here inserted, but only omitted those Jews that had been brought into captivity formerly and afterwards, who had not been distinctly mentioned, so that he himself added these clauses out of his humanity and great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was to take place all at once, should be divided among the king's ministers and the officers of his treasury. When this was done, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion in no more than seven days' time, the number of talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and that because their masters required the twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having in effect commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

§ 4. Now when this had been done in so magnificent a manner according to the king's will, the king ordered Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for nothing is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. So I have subjoined a copy of these letters, and set down the number of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem], and the construction of every one, that the carefulness of the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw it, and which workman made every vessel, might be made manifest, and that on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the letter runs as follows. "Demetrius to the great king. As thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were still wanting to fill thy library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters; and I inform thee that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others. For they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation are to us unintelligible. It has also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not hitherto had royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldest have accurate copies of them

And indeed this legislation is full of wisdom and pure as proceeding from God. That is why, as Hecatæus of Abdera [1] says, the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou wilt write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe who are most skilful in the understanding of the laws, that by them we may learn the clear and harmonious sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of them as may be worthy of thy desire."

§ 5. When this letter was sent to the king, he commanded that a letter should be written to Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, concerning these matters, and that they should inform him at the same time of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons vials and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chests that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He also ordered that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for the sacrifices and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have transcribed a copy of the letter which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the following account. When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor, who was called the Just, both because of his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he died, and left only an infant son who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote as follows. "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest greeting. There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried away captive. These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed

[1] A town on the southern coast of Thrace.

in the army, and gave them greater pay than usual; to others of them, who went with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons and the guard of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had succeeded to the kingdom, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and I have admitted those that are of a fit age into the number of my soldiers. And such as are capable of being faithful to me, and fit for my court, I have put in such a post, thinking this to be a very great and acceptable gift which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be gratifying to them and all the other Jews in the world, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and put in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me six men of good character out of every tribe, who are now advanced in age. These by their age will be skilful in the laws, and able to make accurate interpretation of them: and when this shall be finished, I think that I shall have done a glorious work. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my body-guard, and Aristæus, men whom I hold in very great esteem, to discuss these matters with thee, by whom also I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

§ 6. When this letter of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the eagerness possible. "Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy greeting. If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, it is well with us. When we received thy letter, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions: and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold which thou didst send, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons,

and the table for the show-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for making whatever shall be needful for the temple. These things Andreas and Aristæus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us: and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know, then, that we will gratify thee in this matter for thy advantage, though we do what is unusual, for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister,[1] thy children and friends; and the people offered up prayers that thy affairs might be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom might be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law might come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be only like thy piety and justice, to return the law when it has been translated, and to send back those to us in safety that bring it. Farewell."

§ 7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to transcribe the names of the seventy elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law. Their names were set down at the end of the letter. However, I think it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artistic presents which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God. For the king allowed vast sums for them, and often visited the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered no carelessness or negligence to damage their operations. And I will relate how magnificent all were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history does not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and generosity of this king to those that read this history.

§ 8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but he gave orders that they

[1] Arsinoe was both sister and wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

should learn what was the size of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and whether it were possible to make one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was that it might be useless in their sacred ministrations, if it were too large, for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations. Inferring therefore that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in size, but would make it exceed it in the variety and beauty of its materials. And as he was quick in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, where there were no delineations, he would invent such as were proper by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, and command that such should be made, and that those which were delineated should be most accurately copied with a constant regard to their delineation.

§ 9. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they fashioned it in length two cubits and a half, in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half, and the entire structure was of gold. They also made a crown of a handbreadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with carving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same outline, so that when you turned them about, there was the very same form without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table was very beautifully carved, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight and view. And so it was that both those sides which were above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which I before said there were, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned precious stones were inserted in rows parallel one to the other,

enclosed in golden buttons which had holes in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and ran round the table. And under these oval figures thus engraven the workmen had put a crown all round, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that bunches of grapes hung, and corn and pomegranates were also represented. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, each with its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was made under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegance in its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the appearance of the same artificial contrivances might reach as far as the feet. For they made a plate of gold four fingers broad along the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so, whatever side the table stood, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expense bestowed upon it. And upon the table itself they engraved a mæander, inserting very valuable stones in the middle of it, like stars of various colours, as the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out most agreeable rays of light to the spectators, and such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this mæander a texture of network ran round, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal and amber, which by their alternation gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapiters of the feet imitated the buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their base was made of a carbuncle, it was one palm in depth, and eight fingers in breadth. Now

they had engraven upon each of the feet, with a very fine tool and with a great deal of pains, ivy and tendrils of the vine with clusters of grapes, so natural that you would guess they were real tendrils, for they were so very thin, and so stood out at their extremities, that they moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the imitation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, and the joints of the several parts were so deftly united together as to be invisible, and the places were they were joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving-tools, was at length brought to perfection, the king being very desirous that, though in size it was not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet in exquisite workmanship, and novelty of contrivance, and in splendour of construction, it should far exceed it, and be more notable than that was.

§ 10. There were also two bowls of gold, ornamented with scaly-work from its base half way up, with various sorts of stone chased in the coils. Next to which there was upon it a mæander a cubit in height, composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was rod-work engraven, and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, extending to the brim of the bowl, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. Round the brim of the bowl were wreathed leaves of lilies and convolvulus, and tendrils of vines. And this was the construction of the two bowls of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than mirrors, and you might see your countenance in them more plainly than in mirrors. The king also had thirty vials made, of which the parts that were of gold, and not filled up with precious stones, were shaded over with leaves of ivy and vines artificially engraven. And these vessels were in an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen who

were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and munificence of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly and with great generosity with whatever they wanted, but also forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the reason why the workmen exhibited such diligence, that they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so kept the more closely to their work.

§ 11. These were the gifts sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. And when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to take back to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he sent at once for Andreas and Aristæus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the letters which they had brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then desired to see the elders that came from Jerusalem to interpret the laws, and ordered that everybody who came on other errands should be sent away, which was a thing surprising and unusual for him to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But now he sent those away, and waited for these that were sent by Eleazar. And when the old men came in with the presents which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the parchments upon which they had their laws written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapped, they showed him the parchments. And the king admired the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures which could not be perceived (so exactly were they connected with one another); and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them, and, above all, to that God whose laws they happened to be. Then did the elders, and those that

were present with them, cry out with one voice, wishing all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears from excess of pleasure, it being natural to men to show the same emotion in great joy that they do in sorrow. And when he had bidden them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he greeted the men, and said that it was but right to speak first of the errand he had sent for them to execute, and then to address himself to them. He promised, however, that he would celebrate this day on which they came to him as a remarkable and eminent one every year throughout his whole life. For their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus [1] by sea, happened to be on the very same day. He also invited them to sup with him, and ordered that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

§ 12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bade him prepare for everyone of them what should be requisite for their diet. Now things were ordered by the king in the following manner; he took care for those that belonged to every city, that did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for those that visited him according to their custom, that being feasted according to their usual method of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be offended at anything as strange. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in matters belonging to life. So Nicanor by him made all arrangements for their reception, and appointed them seats to sit on in two places, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of them should be set beside him, and the other half behind his table, and he took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bade Dorotheus to minister to all those that had come to him from Judæa in the manner they were used to. So he declined the services of the

[1] Antiochus II.

sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to offer prayers, but called one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say prayers. So he stood in the midst and prayed that all prosperity might attend the king and his subjects. Upon this acclamation was made by the whole company with joy and great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And after a little interval, when the king thought sufficient time had been given, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them some physical questions and such as might throw light on such inquiries; and when they had explained all that had been asked by the king on every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were entertained, and whoever pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristæus', which he wrote on this very occasion.

§ 13. And as not only the king but the philosopher Menedemus also admired them, who said that all things were governed by providence, and that it was probable that thence it was that such force and beauty was discovered in these men's words, they then left off asking any more such questions. And the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he ordered that they should have three talents apiece given them, and that they should be conducted to where they were to lodge. And after three days had elapsed, Demetrius took them and went over seven furlongs to an embankment in the sea near an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, which was a quiet place, and fit for their considering their work. When he had taken them there, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation with great zeal and great pains, and continued to do this till the ninth hour of the day,

when they rested and took care of their body, as food was provided for them in great plenty: Dorotheus also, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. And in the morning they went to the court, and saluted Ptolemy, and then went back to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands in the sea and bathed, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to an end in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters also were, and read them over. And the multitude approved of those elders that were the interpreters of the law, and also commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness, and begged that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover they all, both the priest and the elders, who had been the interpreters, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, since the interpretation was happily finished, that it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that idea, they enjoined, if anyone observed either anything superfluous, or anything omitted, that he would review it again, and have it laid before them and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that as the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

§ 14. And the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design in this matter was so usefully carried out; and he was especially delighted with hearing the laws read to him, and was astonished at the mind and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to ask Demetrius, "How it came to pass, since this legislation was so wonderful, that no one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that no one had ventured to touch upon the description of those laws, because they were divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it had been afflicted by God. He also told him, that Theopompus had been desirous of writing something about them, but was disturbed in his mind for more than thirty days, but upon some intermission of his mental malady, he appeased

God [by prayer], suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his mental malady befell him because he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them to profane men; and when he left off the attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes the tragic poet, of whom it was reported, that when, in a certain play, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a disease in his eyes; and that, upon his recognizing the cause of his disease, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from it.

§ 15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as I have already said, he venerated them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uninjured. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him from Judæa, for it would be profitable, he said, to them both on account of the respect that he would pay them and the presents he would make them: for he said it was now but right to send them away, but if of their own accord they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their wisdom deserved, and his generosity was able to give them. So he sent them away for the time, and gave to every one of them three excellent garments, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the couch whereon they had feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. Also he sent by them to Eleazar the high priest ten beds with feet of silver, and the furniture belonging to them and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these ten garments and a purple robe, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, as also vials and dishes and ewers and two golden bowls to be dedicated to God. He also desired him by letter to give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of visiting him again, because he highly valued the company of men of such learning, and would be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. Such was what came to the Jews, to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Asia honoured the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of the Cities which they built.

§ 1.

THE Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia, when they served with them. For Seleucus Nicator made them citizens of the cities which he built in Asia and in Lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch;[1] and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks who dwelt there, insomuch that those privileges continue to this very day. A proof of this is that, as the Jews will not use oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the superintendents of the gymnasiums as the value of that oil; and when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of that money in the last war, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, secured it to them. And after that, when Vespasian and his son Titus were masters of the world, when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch prayed that these privileges of citizenship might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In this behaviour any one may see the equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who although they had had a great deal of trouble in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their arms, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not take away any of their before-mentioned privileges of citizenship, but restrained their anger; and resisted the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, either out of their favour to them, or out of their hatred to those whom they had subdued in war; nor would they repeal any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said that those who had borne arms and fought against them had paid the penalty,

[1] Antioch, on the Orontes, now *Antakia*.

and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

§ 2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was similarly affected to the Jews. For when the Ionians were very angry with them, and besought Agrippa that they only might have those privileges of citizenship which Antiochus,[1] the grandson of Seleucus, (who by the Greeks was called God,) had bestowed on them, and asked if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, that they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped, when these matters were brought to trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to use their own customs, Nicolaus of Damascus pleading their cause, for Agrippa declared that it was not lawful for him to make any change. And if any one has a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not perhaps so much to be admired, for at this time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the magnanimity of Vespasian and Titus, that after such great wars and struggles as they had with us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

§ 3. It happened in the reign of Antiochus the Great,[2] who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed: for as he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator, and with his son Ptolemy, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten and when he was victorious, so that they were very like a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides, for just thus were they in their situation, in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity and reverses. But when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy he seized upon Judæa: and when Philopator was dead his son sent out a great army under Scopas as general against the inhabitants

[1] Antiochus II., 261-246 B.C. [2] Antiochus III., 223-187 B.C.

of Cœle-Syria, who took many of their cities and also our nation, which, when he warred against it, went over to him. But not long afterwards Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of the Jordan,[1] and destroyed a great part of his army. And afterwards, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Cœle-Syria which Scopas had got into his possession, and Samaria among them, the Jews of their own accord went over to him, and received him into their city [Jerusalem,] and gave plentiful provision to all his army and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison that had been left by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem. Thereupon Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service, so he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and bore testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that behaviour. I will soon give the letters which he wrote to his generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis,[2] who thus speaks in the sixteenth book of his history. "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, marched to the upper parts of the country, and in the winter-time overthrew the nation of the Jews." He also says in the same book, "When Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus took Batanæa[3] and Samaria[4] and Abila[5] and Gadara,[6] and shortly afterwards, there came to him those Jews that dwelt near the holy place which was called Jerusalem, concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God in that holy place, yet do I put off that history to another time." This is what Polybius relates. But I will return to my narrative, when I have first produced the letters of king Antiochus.

[1] The battle took place near *Bâniâs*, in 198 B.C.

[2] The capital of Arcadia in Greece; the ruins are near the village of *Sinânu*.

[3] East of Jordan, a portion of the ancient district of Bashan.

[4] The district or province of Samaria.

[5] Abila in Peræa, one of the cities of the Decapolis; now *Abîl*, about ten miles east of *Umm Keis*, Gadara.

[6] Now *Umm Keis;* see Life, § 9.

"KING ANTIOCHUS TO PTOLEMY GREETING.

"Since the Jews, on our first entrance into their country, showed their friendship towards us, and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers and to the elephants, and joined with us in driving out the garrison of Egyptians that were in the citadel, I have thought fit to reward them, and to repair the condition of their city, which has been greatly injured by the reverses which have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been dispersed abroad back to it. And, in the first place, I have determined, on account of their piety, to bestow on them, as a contribution to their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, and to their wine and oil and frankincense, twenty thousand pieces of silver, and six sacred artabæ of fine flour, and a thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I will have fully paid them, as I have ordered. I will also have the work about the temple finished, and the porticoes, and if there be anything else that wants building. As for the material of wood, let it be brought out of Judæa itself and other countries, and from Libanus, tax free: and the same I will have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from the poll-tax and crown-tax and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner be inhabited, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall migrate to it before the month Hyperberetæus. I also discharge them for the future from a third part of their tribute, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. As to all those that have been carried away from their city, and are become slaves, we grant to them and their children their freedom, and order that their substance be restored to them."

§ 4. These were the contents of his letter. He also pub-

lished a decree throughout all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows. "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the precincts of the temple, which is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who have purified themselves according to their national custom. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of wild or tame asses, be brought into the city, or of leopards, foxes, or hares, or in general of any animal which is forbidden to the Jews. Nor let their skins be brought into it, nor let any such animal be bred in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they are obliged to appease God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver." Antiochus also bore testimony to our piety and fidelity in a letter of his, written when he was informed of a rebellion in Phrygia and Lydia, when he was in the upper satrapies, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The letter was as follows.

"KING ANTIOCHUS TO ZEUXIS HIS FATHER GREETING.

"If you are in health it is well, I am also in health. Having been informed that a rebellion has broken out in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought the matter required great care: and upon deliberating with my friends what was to be done, have resolved to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the garrisons and places that lie most convenient. For I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of my dominions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and do with alacrity what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews, promising them that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places indicated, thou shalt give everyone of them a place for building their houses, and a piece of land to cultivate and to plant their vines on, and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of

the fruits of the earth for ten years: and let them have a sufficient quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they get corn out of the earth: also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that, being treated by us with humanity, they may show themselves the more zealous of our interests. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not be troubled by anyone." Now this testimony which I have produced is sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great had to the Jews.

CHAP. IV.

How Antiochus made a league with Ptolemy, and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Euergetes to Anger, and how Joseph brought things all right again, and entered into Friendship with him, also the other things which were done by Joseph and his son Hyrcanus.

§ 1.

AFTER this, Antiochus made a friendship and league with Ptolemy,[1] and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and yielded up to him Cœle-Syria and Samaria and Judæa and Phœnicia by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries, and, collecting the sum that was assigned to them, paid the same to the two kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much harassed the Jews, ravaging their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest, for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and when he too had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called the Just, and Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias had a little soul, and was a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay the tax of

[1] Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, 205-181 B.C.

twenty talents of silver for the people, which his forefathers paid to these kings out of their own estates, he provoked to anger king Ptolemy Euergetes,[1] who was the father of Philopator.[2] Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay the taxes, and threatened that if he did not receive them he would parcel out their land, and send soldiers to dwell upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded: but so avaricious was Onias, that nothing of this put him about.

§ 2. Now there was one Joseph, young indeed in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem for character, sense, and uprightness. His father's name was Tobias, and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest. She informed him of the coming of the ambassador, for he was then sojourning at a village called Phicol,[3] his native place. And he went to Jerusalem, and reproved Onias for not seeing to the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money, though it was for their benefit that he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest: but if he was so great a lover of money, as to have the heart to see his country in danger on that account, and the citizens suffering the greatest damage, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was that he did not care for his authority, and was ready, if it were possible, to lay down his high priesthood, and that he would not go to the king, for he cared nothing at all about the matter. Joseph then asked him, if he would give him leave to go as ambassador on behalf of the nation? He replied that he would. Thereupon Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to an assembly, and exhorted them not to be disturbed or alarmed because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not to terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that

[1] Ptolemy III., Euergetes, 247-222 B.C.
[2] Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 222-205 B.C.
[3] Not identified.

they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner, and presented him also with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him on to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him. For he was now still more desirous to go to the king, from the encouragement of the ambassador, who urged him to go to Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain everything that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his liberality and the gravity of his deportment.

§ 3. When Ptolemy's ambassador reached Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtlessness of Onias, and informed him of the good disposition of Joseph, who was coming to him to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for he was their champion. In short he was so very profuse in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he arrived. And Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, clothes and cups and beasts of burden, which cost about twenty thousand drachmæ, and set out for Alexandria. Now it so happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up from the cities of Syria and Phœnicia to buy the taxes; for every year the king sold them to the well-to-do men in each city. And these men saw Joseph journeying on his way, and jeered at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he got to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up there to meet him. And as the king was sitting in his chariot with his wife and friend Athenion (who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph,) directly Athenion saw him, he at once made him known to the king, saying this was the person about whom on his return from Jerusalem he had told the king how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot, and as Joseph sat there, began to complain of the behaviour of

Onias. To which Joseph answered, "Forgive him on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this fact, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, everything thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain." The king was so delighted with the grace and pleasantry of the young man, that he began already, as though he had had long experience of him, to have still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him lodge in his palace, and be a guest at his table every day. And when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw Joseph sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

§ 4. Now when the day came, on which the king was to farm the taxes of the cities, and those that were the men of principal dignity in their several countries bid for them, the sum of what was bidden for the taxes of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia and Judæa and Samaria amounted altogether to eight thousand talents. Thereupon Joseph accused the bidders of having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate, and promised that he would himself give twice as much for them, and for those who did not pay, he would send the king their whole substance, for this privilege was also sold with the taxes. The king was pleased to hear that offer, and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him the question, Whether he had any sureties, that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very cleverly, "I will give as security persons good and honourable, whom you shall have no reason to distrust." And when he bade him name who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties than thyself and thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." Then Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any security. This was a sore grief to those who had come into Egypt from the cities to be thus outbid, and they returned home everyone with shame.

§ 5. And Joseph took with him two thousand foot-soldiers of the king's, for he desired to have some assist-

ance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing five hundred talents from the king's friends at Alexandria, he started for Syria. And when he got to Ascalon,[1] and demanded the taxes of the people of Ascalon, they refused to pay anything, and insulted him also, upon which he seized about twenty of their principal men, and slew them, and gathered their substance together, which amounted to a thousand talents, and sent it all to the king, and informed him of what he had done. And Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done, and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were dismayed, and having before them a sad example in the men of Ascalon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis[2] attempted to affront him, and would not pay him the taxes, which they formerly used to pay without any hesitation, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he got much wealth together, and made vast gains of this farming of the taxes, and made use of what he had thus got to support his authority, thinking it prudent to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune. And he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful at the court, and thereby purchased their good-will.

§ 6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years, and was the father of seven sons by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius' daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once went to Alexandria with his brother, (who took with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there,) and supping with the king, and falling in love with a dancing girl of great beauty that came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to lie with a foreign woman, to conceal his offence, and to be kind

[1] *'Ascalân.* [2] *Beisân.*

and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon this his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and disguised his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And he being in drink knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter, and this he did many times, and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this dancing girl so well, that he would run the hazard of his life for her, for probably the king would not give him leave to have her. But his brother bade him be in no concern, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife, and opened the truth to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused than see him come to disgrace. Then Joseph commended him for his brotherly love, and married his daughter, and by her had a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as I said before. And as this his youngest son at thirteen years old showed great natural courage and wisdom, and was greatly envied by his brothers, as being much above them and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had a mind to know which of his sons had the best natural parts, and so he sent them each to those that had at that time the best reputation for instructing youths, but all the others, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out Hyrcanus, the youngest, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bade him go two days' journey in the wilderness, and sow the land there, but kept back privately the leather harness of the oxen. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no harness, he scorned the idea of the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some of them home to his father to bring them harness, for thinking he ought not to lose time waiting for the return of those who might be despatched, he invented a kind of stratagem that showed wisdom greater than his age. For he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made harness, and yoked the oxen with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had ordered him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his

father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did, and loved him still more, as if he were his only genuine son, and his brothers were much troubled at this.

§ 7. And when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, intended to keep a festival on account of the child's birthday, and had set out with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he tried to see whether any of his sons would go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said they were not courtiers enough for such company, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to their advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether he would go to the king, and if he was willing to do so. And upon his undertaking to go, and saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, so that ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, Joseph was pleased with his son's moderation. A little while after the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from there, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money for purchasing what would be most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that his presents to the king would come to about ten talents, and commending his son as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, who managed all his money at Alexandria, which money was not less than three thousand talents. For Joseph sent the money he received from Syria to Alexandria, and when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he used to write to Arion to pay them. Now when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he set out for Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brothers wrote to all the king's friends to kill him.

§ 8. Now when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have, (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or only a little more,) and when he said he wanted a thousand

talents, the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly, and let him know that his father had got together his wealth by carefulness and by resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he also said that he would give him only ten talents, and that for a present to the king. The lad was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. And when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, and entreated that she would rebuke the lad for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her,) Cleopatra told the king of it. And Ptolemy sent messengers to Hyrcanus to tell him that the king wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had put the steward in prison. He gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and explain why he had acted so. And they report that the answer he made to the king's messengers was that there was a law of the king's that forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice before he had been to the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which reasoning he had not himself come to him as he was waiting for the presents he was to make to him who had been his father's benefactor: and he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for it mattered not whether a master was little or great. "Unless, indeed, we punish such as these, thou mayst thyself also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this answer of his, Ptolemy fell a laughing, and wondered at the great wit of the lad.

§ 9. When Arion learned that this was the king's disposition, and that he himself had no other alternative, he gave the lad a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. And after three days had elapsed, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in a friendly manner, out of respect to his father. And he went to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys that were well educated and in the flower of their age at a talent a-piece, and also bought a hundred maidens at the same price. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as still a lad in age, by those who placed

every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat at meat with him had laid the bones of their portions on a heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themselves cleared the meat off them,) till the table where he sat was full of bones, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed to joke and laugh at revels, was now called for by the guests that sat at table. So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? By this thou mayst conjecture that his father has made all Syria as bare as he has made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking Hyrcanus, "How he came to have so many bones before him?" he replied, "No wonder, my lord: for dogs eat the flesh and bones together, as these have done, (looking at the king's guests,) for there is nothing before them; but men eat the flesh, and cast away the bones, as I, who am a man, have now done." Upon this the king admired his answer, which was so wisely made, and bade all the company applaud, as a mark of their approbation of his facetious jest. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and to the men powerful at court, and saluted them, and inquired of their servants, what present their masters would make the king on his son's birthday; and when they said that some would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would give more according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to offer so large a present, for he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced at the prospect that Joseph would be lightly esteemed, and would offend the king by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not more than twenty talents, but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidens that he had bought a talent a-piece for them to carry, and led the boys up to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; everybody, even the king and queen themselves, wondering at the unexpected munificence of the present. He also presented to the friends and courtiers of the king gifts worth a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from

them: for it was to them that Hyrcanus' brothers had written to kill him. Now Ptolemy admired the young man's loftiness of soul, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brothers about him. So when the king had paid him very great respect, and had given him very fine gifts, and had written to his father and brothers and all his commanders and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brothers heard that Hyrcanus had received such favour from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him and kill him, and that with the knowledge of their father; for he was angry at him for the large sums of money that he had bestowed as presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed his anger to his son from fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus' brothers fought with him, he slew many others of those that were with them, as also two of his brothers, but the rest escaped to Jerusalem to their father. And when Hyrcanus came to the city, as nobody would receive him, he was afraid, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there dwelt and levied tribute on the barbarians.

§ 10. At this time Seleucus, who was called Philopator,[1] the son of Antiochus the Great, reigned over Asia. And [now] Hyrcanus' father Joseph died. He was a good man and high-souled, and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness to one that was more splendid. He farmed the taxes of Syria and Phœnicia and Samaria twenty-two years. His uncle Onias also died, and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he also died, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity, to whom Areus, King of the Lacedæmonians, sent an embassage with a letter, a copy whereof here follows.

"AREUS, KING OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS, TO ONIAS, GREETING.

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and Lacedæmonians are of

[1] Seleucus IV., 187-175 B.C.

one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham.[1] It is but just, therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same, and esteem your concerns as our own, and will look upon our concerns as yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is square, and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws."

§ 11. Such were the contents of the letter which was sent by the king of the Lacedæmonians. Now upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, because of his sons. For whereas the elder ones made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but most joined with the elder ones, as did Simon the high priest because of his kinsmanship to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but stationed himself beyond the Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captive. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious size carved on it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves many furlongs long by hollowing a rock that was opposite, and made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a quantity of water which ran through it, and was very delightful and ornamental in the court-yard. However, he made the mouths of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter them at once; and that on purpose for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brothers, and run the hazard of being taken by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater size than ordinary, which he adorned with spacious gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he called it

[1] Whence it comes that these Lacedæmonians declare themselves here to be akin to the Jews, as derived from the kindred of Abraham, I cannot tell, unless, as Grotius supposes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelasgi. These are by Herodotus called 'Barbarians,' and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the posterity of Abraham by Keturah. See Antiq. xiv. 10, § 22, and Jewish War, i. 26, § 1, and Grot. on 1 Maccab. xii. 7.—W.

Tyre.[1] It is between Arabia and Judæa, beyond the Jordan, and not far from the country of Heshbon.[2] And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when Seleucus was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes,[3] took the kingdom. Ptolemy, also, the king of Egypt, died, who was also called Epiphanes, and left two sons, both young in age, the elder of whom was called Philometor,[4] and the younger Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be taken by him, and punished for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life by suicide, and Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

CHAP. V.

How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews with one another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus made an Expedition against Jerusalem, and took the City and pillaged the Temple, and distressed the Jews. Also how many of the Jews forsook the Laws of their Country; and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and called their Temple on Mount Gerizim the Temple of Zeus Hellenius.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time, on the death of Onias the high priest, the king gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for the son whom Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant. I shall, in its proper place, inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. Now this Jesus, the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of whom the high

[1] The ruins of the palace of Hyrcanus are still to be seen, at *'Arak el-Emîr*, in the position described.

[2] Now *Hesbân;* the capital of Sihon, king of the Amorites, near the border between Reuben and Gad.

[3] Antiochus IV., 175-164 B.C.

[4] Ptolemy VI., Philometor, 181-146 B.C.

priesthood came, as I have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, and Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, formed a party against Menelaus, who was appointed after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the side of Menelaus, but most of the people assisted Jason: so that Menelaus and the sons of Tobias got the worst of it, and fled to Antiochus, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Greek way of living. So they desired his permission to build for themselves a Gymnasium at Jerusalem.[1] And when he had given them leave, they drew their prepuce forward, that when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. They also left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of other nations.

§ 2. Now Antiochus, as the affairs of his kingdom were in a prosperous condition, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to make himself master of it, and because he despised the sons of Ptolemy, as still weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he marched with a great force to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and occupied Egypt. He then went to the parts about Memphis, and when he had taken Memphis, he set out for Alexandria, in hope of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone, as I have elsewhere stated before. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, who took Judæa and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned these things very briefly, and therefore now

[1] This word, Gymnasium, properly denotes a place where the exercises were performed naked, which because it would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish apostates endeavoured to appear uncircumcised, by means of an operation, hinted at by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 18, and described by Celsus, vii. 25, as Dr. Hudson here informs us.—W.

think it necessary to go over the history again at greater length.

§ 3. King Antiochus then, returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem, and in the hundred and forty-third year of the kingdom of the Selucidæ,[1] took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had got possession of Jerusalem he slew many of the opposite party, and when he had carried off a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

§ 4. Now it came to pass two years after, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month, which is by us called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apellæus, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, that this king went up to Jerusalem with a large force, and pretending peace, got possession of the city by treachery;[2] at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that were in the temple; but owing to his covetousness (for he saw there was in the temple a great deal of gold, and many votive offerings of very great value), in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. And he stripped the temple bare, and took away the vessels of God, as the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar of incense, and the table of shew-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering, and did not keep his hands off even the veils which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied the temple of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining, and so cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer the daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, he slew some of the inhabitants, and some he carried away captive, together with their wives and children, so that the number of captives amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings, and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city,[3] for the place

[1] In 170 B.C., at the close of his second Egyptian campaign. See Daniel xi. 31.

[2] In 168 B.C. at the close of his fourth Egyptian campaign.

[3] This citadel, of which we have such frequent mention in the fol-

was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. None the less in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, at whose hands the citizens suffered many terrible things. And when the king had built an altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the ancient Jewish religious worship. He also compelled them to forsake the worship of their own God, and to adore those whom he esteemed gods, and made them build temples, and raise altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed this injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews complied with the king's commands, some voluntarily, others out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those that had noble souls, did not regard him, but paid greater respect to the customs of their country than to care about the punishment which he threatened the disobedient with, so they every day died in great miseries and bitter torments. For they were whipped with rods, and their limbs were torn to pieces, and they were fixed to crosses while they were still alive and breathed; they also strangled, as the king had ordered, the women and those of their sons who had been circumcised, hanging their sons about their necks as they were on the crosses. And if there were any sacred book or copy of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

§ 5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews suffering these

lowing history, both in the Maccabees and in Josephus, seems to have been a castle built on a hill, lower than mount Zion, though upon its skirts, and higher than mount Moriah, but between them both; which hill the enemies of the Jews now got possession of, and built on it this citadel, and fortified it, till a good while afterwards the Jews regained it, demolished it, and levelled the hill itself with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and might thence overlook the temple itself, and do them such mischief as they had long undergone from it, Antiq. xiii. 6, § 6.—W.

things, they no longer alleged that they were of their kindred, or that the temple on Mount Gerizim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as I have already shown. They now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians: and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and a letter, whose contents were as follows. "To king Antiochus Epiphanes, god, a memorial from Sidonians who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, because of certain frequent plagues, and following a certain ancient superstition, made a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath.[1] And when they had erected a temple without a name on the mountain called Gerizim, they offered upon it the customary sacrifices. Now upon thy just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that carry out thy orders, supposing us to be akin to them and doing as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the manager of thy affairs, not to disturb us, or to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation and customs; and let our temple, which at present has no name at all, be called The Temple of Zeus Hellenius. If this be once done, we shall be no longer disturbed, but shall be more secure in attending to our own occupations and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer in a letter. "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians who live at Shechem have sent me the enclosed memorial. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us, that they are no way concerned in the charges brought against the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that,

[1] This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath-day, and as they elsewhere pretend, the Sabattic year also, Antiq. xi. 8, § 6.—W.

agreeably to their petition, their temple be called The Temple of Zeus Hellenius." He also sent the like letter to Apollonius, the governor of that province, in the forty-sixth year, on the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombæon.

CHAP. VI.

How, upon Antiochus prohibiting the Jews to make use of the Laws of their country, Mattathias the Son of Asamonæus alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus' Army; as also concerning the Death of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1.

NOW at this time there was a man who dwelt at Modiim,[1] whose name was Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamonæus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a native of Jerusalem. He had five sons, John who was called Gaddes, and Simon who was called Matthes, and Judas who was called Maccabæus, and Eleazar who was called Auran, and Jonathan who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his sons the sad state of their affairs, as the spoiling of the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities of the people, and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously.

§ 2. Now when those that were appointed by the king were come to the village of Modiim, to compel the Jews to do what was commanded, and enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice as the king had ordered, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the highest repute among them, both on other accounts and because of his goodly family, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow citizens would follow his example, and because such behaviour would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said he would not do so, and if all other nations obeyed the commands of Antiochus, either

[1] Now *el-Medieh*, about seven miles east of Lydda, and about sixteen miles north-west of Jerusalem.

out of fear or to please him, neither he nor his sons would leave the religious worship of their country. But when he had ended his speech, one of the Jews came into the midst, and sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded. At this Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him with his sons who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself, and Apelles the king's general, who was trying to compel them to sacrifice, and a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the altar, and cried out, "Whoever is zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he went into the desert with his sons, and left all his property in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. Now when the king's generals heard of this, they took all the soldiers they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they first endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not to put them to the necessity of treating them according to martial law. But as they would not listen to their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they attacked them on the Sabbath-day, and burnt them as they were in their caves, without their resisting, or even so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they abstained from defending themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath even in such an evil case, for our law requires us to rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in those caves; but many escaped and joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler. And he taught them to fight even on the Sabbath-day, and told them, that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law so rigorously, for their adversaries would continue to assault them on that day, and if they would not then defend themselves, nothing could prevent their all perishing without fighting. This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be necessity, we may fight on the Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew the altars,

and slew all those that broke the law that he could get in his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys who were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now, and he drove out of the country those that were appointed to hinder their circumcision.

§ 3. But when he had ruled one year he fell very ill, and called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all flesh, and I commend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the wish of him who begat you and brought you up, to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient polity, which is in danger of being upset, and not to be seduced by those that betray it, either from their own inclination, or out of necessity, but to be sons worthy of me, and to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, if it shall be necessary, to die for your laws, reflecting on this, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will greatly value your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will give you back again that freedom in which you shall live in security, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal and subject to fate, but they receive a sort of immortality by the remembrance of the actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and when you have undertaken the greatest things, may not shrink from losing your lives. I exhort you especially to agree with one another, and in whatever point any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and so to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Esteem then your brother Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in the counsels he gives you. Take Maccabæus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation and repel your enemies. Conciliate the righteous and religious, and so add to their power."

§ 4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their helper, and to restore to

the people their former manner of life, he died soon afterwards and was buried at Modiim,[1] all the people making great lamentation for him. And his son Judas called Maccabæus took upon him the administration of affairs, in the hundred and forty-sixth year: and by the ready assistance of his brothers and others, drove their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed their laws, and purified the land from all pollution.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed those Generals; and how, when a little while afterwards Lysias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem and purified the Temple.

§ 1.

WHEN Apollonius, the general of the army of Samaria, heard of this, he took his army, and marched against Judas. And he met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself the general, whose sword (which he happened to be wearing) he seized upon and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of spoil from the enemy's camp, and retired. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Cœle-Syria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had with him an army sufficient for fighting and making war, he determined to march against him, thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that lawlessly transgressed the king's injunctions. So he got together as large an army as he was able, and joined to it the fugitive and wicked Jews, and marched against Judas, and advanced as far as Bethhoron,[2] a village of Judæa, and there pitched his camp. And there Judas met him, and intended to offer battle, and when he saw that his soldiers

[1] *el-Medieh*, thirteen miles west of *Beitîn*, Bethel. See p. 339, note 1.

[2] *Beit 'Ur el-Foka.*

were loath to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them by telling them that victory and conquest of enemies was not derived from numbers but from piety towards God; and that they had the plainest proof of this in their forefathers, who by their righteousness and by exerting themselves on behalf of their laws and children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, for innocence was a mighty force. By this speech he induced his men to despise the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he routed the Syrians; and as their general fell they all ran away with speed, thinking flight their only chance of safety. And he pursued them to the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, and the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

§ 2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened, and got together all his own army, and many mercenaries whom he took with him from the islands, and made preparations to invade Judæa about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasury was deficient, and that there was a want of money, (for all the taxes had not been paid because of the insurrections of the various nations, and he was so munificent and liberal that his own revenues were not sufficient for him,) he resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. So he left in command one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, and governor as far as the bounds of Egypt and Lower Asia from the river Euphrates, with part of the forces and elephants, and charged him to educate his son Antiochus with all possible care until he came back, and to conquer Judæa, and enslave its inhabitants, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and annihilate the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these orders to Lysias, he went into Persia, and in the hundred and forty-seventh year crossed over the Euphrates, and went to the upper satrapies.

§ 3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy (the son of Dorymenes) and Nicanor and Gorgias, very influential men

among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, and sent them against Judæa. And they came as far as the city Emmaus,[1] and pitched their camp in the plain. Auxiliaries also came to them out of Syria and the country round about, as also many of the fugitive Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be captured (having fetters with them to bind those that should be made prisoners), with the silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous the enemies were, he urged his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him clothed in sackcloth according to the custom of their country, and to show their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and so to prevail with God to grant them the victory over their enemies. And he set them in the ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands and commanders of divisions, and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, from an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus marshalled his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech which he made to them. "Comrades, no other time is more necessary than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing for itself agreeable to all men, so to us it proves much more desirable, by its affording us the power of worshipping God. Since then you are in such a case at present, that you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws and the customs of our country, or submit to the most ignoble sufferings, nor will any seed of your nation remain if you play the part of cowards in this battle, fight manfully. And reflecting that you must die though you do not fight, and believing that besides such glorious rewards as those of the

[1] *'Amwâs.*

liberty of your country, your laws, and your religion, you shall obtain everlasting glory, prepare yourselves and resolve to be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day to-morrow morning."

§ 4. This was the speech which Judas made to encourage his army. And when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse to surprise Judas by night, with certain of the fugitive Jews as guides for that purpose, the son of Mattathias heard of it, and resolved to fall upon the enemies in their camp, now their forces were divided. When he had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in his camp, he marched all night to the enemy who were at Emmaus. Now as Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, he suspected that they had retreated and hidden themselves among the mountains, and resolved to go and seek wherever they were. But about daybreak Judas appeared to the enemy at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill-armed by reason of their poverty, and though he saw the enemy very well and skilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and exhorted them to fight though with ill-armed bodies, for God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more numerous and better armed to boot, in delight at their great courage. Then he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle, and by thus falling upon the enemy when they did not expect it, and so alarming and dismaying their minds, he slew many of those that resisted, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara[1] and the plains of Idumæa[2] and Azotus[3] and Jamnia;[4] and of these there fell about three thousand. And Judas exhorted his soldiers not to be too desirous of spoil, for they must still have a contest and battle with Gorgias and the forces that were with him: but when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was saying this to his soldiers, Gorgias' men looked down from a hill at the army which

[1] *Umm Keis.*
[2] The southern portion of the plain of Philistia.
[3] *Esdûd.* [4] *Yebnah.*

they had left in their camp, and saw that it was routed, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it showed them what had happened, even though they were a great way off. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were panic-struck, and turned to flight; and now Judas having beaten Gorgias' soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoil. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple and blue raiment, and returned home with joy, singing hymns to God for this success; for this victory contributed not a little to the recovery of their liberty.

§ 5. But Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent out, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen foot, and five thousand horse, and invaded Judæa, and went up to the hill-country near Bethsura,[1] a village of Judæa, and pitched his camp there. And Judas met him there with ten thousand men, and when he saw the great number of the enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the advanced guard of the enemy, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and so caused panic in the rest of the army. Lysias indeed observing the great spirit of the Jews, and that they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate valour as real strength, took the rest of his army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he stayed to enlist foreigners in his service, and made preparations to invade Judæa with a greater army.

§ 6. And now that the generals of Antiochus' armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the customary sacrifices. And as soon as he with the whole multitude had come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and weeds growing in the temple on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him

[1] *Beit Sûr*, four miles north of Hebron.

began to lament, being quite confounded at the sight of the temple. And he picked out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against the guards that occupied the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. And when he had carefully purged it, he brought in new vessels, as the candlestick, the table of show-bread, and the altar of incense, which were made of gold, and hung up veils at the doors, and added doors. He also demolished the altar, and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, not hewn with iron. And on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Chasleu, which the Macedonians call Apellæus, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar of incense, and laid loaves upon the table of show-bread, and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very day on which their divine worship had ceased, and been changed to a profane and common use, three years before, for the temple that had been made desolate by Antiochus continued so for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apellæus, and in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad: and it was dedicated anew on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apellæus, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, and in the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would stop the temple worship.

§ 7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the temple sacrifices for eight days, and omitted no sort of pleasure, but feasted the people upon the very rich and splendid sacrifices, and honoured God, and delighted the people by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their national customs after a long time of intermission, now that they had unexpectedly regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival for eight days on account of the restoration of their temple worship. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it "Lights." I suppose

the reason was, because this liberty appeared to us beyond our hopes, and hence the name was given to the festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city of Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any emergency caused by the enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas subdued the Nations round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to flee away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten.

§ 1.

WHEN these things had taken place, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power and strength, and rose up and destroyed many of them, gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and plotting against them. Judas had perpetual wars with these nations, and endeavoured to restrain them from their incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumæans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabatene,[1] and slew a great many of them, and took their spoil. He also invested and besieged the sons of Baanus, who had laid ambush for the Jews, and burnt their towers, and slew the men that were on them. After this he marched against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on their city Jazor,[2] and took their wives and children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned to Judæa. But when the neighbouring nations heard that he had returned, they mustered together in

[1] Probably the same place as the 'ascent of Akrabbim' of Josh. xv. 3.

[2] The Jazor, probably *Khurbet Sâr*, west of *'Ammân*, Philadelphia.

great numbers in the land of Gilead against the Jews that were on their borders. And they fled to the fortress of Dathema,[1] and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place where they had fled. And as their letters were being read, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais and Tyre and Sidon, and the strange nations in Galilee, had concentrated their forces.

§ 2. Then Judas, considering what was best to be done with relation to the urgency of both these cases, ordered Simon his brother to take three thousand picked men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, marched into the land of Gilead with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph (the son of Zacharias) and Azarias over the rest of the forces: and charged them to guard Judæa very carefully, and to fight no battles with anyone until his return. Simon accordingly went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them, and took the spoil of those that were slain, and rescued those Jews who had been taken prisoners, and their baggage, and then returned home.

§ 3. As for Judas Maccabæus and his brother Jonathan, they crossed over the river Jordan, and when they had gone three days' journey further they met the Nabatæans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how affairs within the land of Gilead stood, and how many of them were in distress, and driven into the garrisons and cities of Gilead, and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness, and fell first upon the inhabitants of Bosorra,[2] and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and slew all the males and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he pushed on to the garrison where the Jews happened to be invested, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army, and Judas reached the city in the

[1] *Remtheh.* [2] Bosorra, Bozrah, *Busrah.*

morning; and when he found that the enemy were just making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them were bringing ladders, by which they might get upon the walls, and others engines to batter them down, he bade the trumpeter sound his trumpet, and encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for their brethren and kindred; he also divided his army into three, and fell upon the rear of the enemies. And when Timotheus' men perceived that it was Maccabæus that was upon them, of whose courage and success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they turned to flight; but Judas followed them close with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Chasphom,[1] and Bosor,[2] and many other cities in the land of Gilead.

§ 4. And not long after this, Timotheus got together a great army, and took others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians for pay to join him in his expedition, and went with his army beyond the brook over against the city of Raphon.[3] And he exhorted his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to prevent their crossing over the brook: for he told them beforehand, "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and marched in haste against the enemy, and when he had crossed over the brook, he fell upon the enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and flee; and some of them escaped, others fled to what was called the temple at Carnain,[4] in hopes of preserving themselves; but Judas took the city and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so contrived several ways of destroying the enemies.

§ 5. When he had done this and gathered all the Jews

[1] The Casphon of 1 Macc. v. 26, not identified.
[2] *Busr el-Harîri*, five miles S.E. of Edrei.
[3] Possibly *Rafeh*.
[4] Ashteroth Karnaim, *Tell 'Asherah*.

in Gilead together, with their children and wives and the substance that belonged to them, his intention was to bring them back into Judæa. And as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron,[1] that lay upon the road, (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,) he sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. But as the inhabitants of Ephron would not listen to him, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it day and night took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over their dead bodies. They then crossed over the Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, situate over against which is the city of Bethshan,[2] which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis.[3] And marching on from thence, they came into Judæa, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their success, and the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

§ 6. But as to Joseph (the son of Zacharias) and Azarias, whom Judas left in command of the rest of the forces at the time when Simon was in Galilee fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, they also wished to get the glory of being fine generals, so they took the army that was under their command, and went to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general at Jamnia,[4] met them, and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders

[1] Not identified.

[2] *Beisân.*

[3] The reason why Bethshan was called 'Scythopolis,' is well known from Herodotus, Book i. ch. 105, and Syncellus, p. 214, that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it obtained the name of 'Scythopolis,' or the 'city of the Scythians.'—W.

[4] *Yebnah.*

of Judæa. And this reverse befell them from their disobedience to the injunction Judas had given them, not to fight with anyone before his return. For besides the rest of Judas' sagacious counsels, one may well admire this concerning the reverse that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brothers did not leave off fighting with the Idumæans, but pressed them hard on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and ravaged the country of the foreigners, and took the city of Marissa,[1] They went also to Azotus,[2] and captured it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoil and prey that were in it, and returned to Judæa.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time king Antiochus, as he was going through his upper provinces, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais,[3] and a very rich temple of Artemis therein, full of all sorts of votive offerings, as also weapons and breastplates, which, he found upon inquiry, had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon. And being incited by this news, he set out for Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was baffled in his hope, for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch

[1] Mareshah of Josh. xv. 44. *Kh. Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis.

[2] *Esdûd.*

[3] There was no town called Elymais, possibly Ecbatana is intended.

that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind to fight with the Jews, and what strength the Jews had already got. When the concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and from the anxiety he was in fell into an illness which lasted a great while, and his pains increased upon him, so at length he perceived that he should die, and called his friends to him, and told them, that his illness was severe, and confessed also that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, in plundering their temple, and despising their god: and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. So one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, though otherwise a good man, saying that "Antiochus died because he purposed to plunder the temple of Artemis in Persia," for the purposing to do a thing, and not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But I shall not contend about this matter with those who think that the cause assigned by Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

§ 2. However this may be, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the regent of his kingdom, and gave him his diadem and royal robes and ring, and charged him to carry them and deliver them to his son Antiochus, and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. Antiochus died in the hundred and forty and ninth year: and Lysias declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, (for he had the care of him,) and called him Eupator.[1]

§ 3. At this time the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem and the Jewish fugitives did a great deal of harm to the Jews: for the soldiers in the garrison used to sally out upon the sudden, and kill such as were going up to the

[1] Antiochus V., Eupator, succeeded his father, whilst still a child, in 164 B.C.

temple to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel commanded the temple. When this had often happened, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison, so he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and threw up earthworks, and tried hard to take the citadel: but not a few of the fugitives who were in the place went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and begged of him, that he would not suffer them to continue in the great hardships they underwent from those of their own nation, and that on his father's account, because they had left the religious worship of their fathers, and adopted that which he had commanded them to follow. They said also that there was danger that the citadel, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, would be taken by Judas and those that were with him, unless he sent them succours. When Antiochus, who was but a boy, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains and friends, and ordered that they should get an army of mercenaries together, and such men also from his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. And an army was collected together of about a hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants.

§ 4. So the king took this army, and marched from Antioch with Lysias, who had the command of the whole force, and came to Idumæa, and thence went up to Bethsura,[1] a city that was strong and not to be taken without great difficulty, and sat down before the city, and besieged it. And as the inhabitants of Bethsura[1] courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp at a certain pass, at a place called Bethzachariah,[2] at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; and the king soon drew his forces away from Bethsura, and brought them to that pass. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one

[1] *Beit Sûr.* [2] *Beit Skâria*, nine miles north of *Beit Sûr.*

another through the narrow pass, for they could not go abreast. Now round every elephant there were a thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and the elephants had high towers and archers on their backs. And he made the rest of his army go up the mountains on each side, and put his friends in the van, and ordered the army to shout aloud, and so attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour emanated from them; and when the army shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the front ranks. And when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of the elephants armed with royal breastplates, supposing that the king was upon it, he attacked it with great bravery. He also slew many of those that were round the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote it, and slew it, but the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by its weight crushed him to death. And thus did Eleazar come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

§ 5. Then Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura to besiege it, and with the rest of his army marched to Jerusalem. And the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength, and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no harsh treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out unarmed. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he besieged it a long time, for those within bravely defended it, for whatever engines the king set against them, they counter-contrived other engines. But at last their provisions failed them, the fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land not being tilled that year continued unsown, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we were obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And so many of

the besieged deserted for want of necessaries, that only a few were left in the temple.

§ 6. Such happened to be the circumstances of those who were besieged in the temple. But when Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was marching upon them from Persia, and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they determined to raise the siege, and march against Philip, yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers nor to the officers, but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the affair of Philip, and to intimate to them, that the siege would be very long, that the place was very strong, that they were already short of provisions, that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation, and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends of the whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, since they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and to return home. When Lysias had spoken thus to them, both the army and officers were pleased with the resolution.

§ 7. So the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with him, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of and live according to the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals, and when they had taken security upon oath for their performance, they evacuated the temple. But when Antiochus went into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to raze the walls to the ground, and when he had done so he returned to Antioch: he also took with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus: for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet and cause him no further disturbance, for he had been the origin of all the mischief by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: so the king sent Menelaus to Berœa,[1] a city in Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and im-

[1] *Aleppo.*

pious man, and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already usurped the government, he made war against him, and beat him, and took him and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as I before said, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the stock of the high priests, being induced by Lysias to transfer that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy king of Egypt;[1] and being held in great esteem by him and his wife Cleopatra, he asked and obtained a place in the district of Heliopolis,[2] wherein he built a temple like that at Jerusalem. But of these things I shall hereafter give an account in a place more proper for it.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius' Army, made an Expedition against Judæa, and returned without success; and how Nicanor was sent a little afterwards against Judas, and perished, together with his Army; as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1.

ABOUT the same time, Demetrius,[3] the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripolis, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered together certain mercenary soldiers, and entered the kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken

[1] Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, 205-181 B.C. His wife was a daughter of Antiochus the Great.

[2] To the N.E. of Cairo. Possibly *Tell el-Yehûdi*.

[3] Demetrius I., Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator, and grandson of Antiochus the Great, was the rightful heir to the throne which had been usurped by Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigned 162-150 B.C.

Antiochus, the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both of whom were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as I have already related elsewhere. And now many of the wicked Jewish fugitives came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brothers, and said, that they had slain all his friends, and that those in the kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were put to death by them; and that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send one of his own friends, and ascertain through him what mischief Judas' party had done.

§ 2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, an able man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care, and ordered him to slay Judas and those that were with him. So Bacchides set out from Antioch with his army, and when he was come into Judæa, he sent to Judas and his brothers to treat on friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not believe in him, for he saw that he came with an army such as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but only when they come to make war. However, some of the people crediting what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed, and supposing they should undergo no great harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, went over to them, and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same views, should come to any harm, they trusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, but slew threescore of them, although by not keeping his faith with those that first went over to him he deterred all the rest who intended to go over to him from doing so. And when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho,[1] he sent and arrested many of the deserters, and some of the people

[1] The Bezeth of 1 Macc. vii. 19. Either the Mount of Olives or Bezetha.

also, and slew them all, and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus, whom he left there, with some part of the army, that he might be able to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch to king Demetrius.

§ 3. Then Alcimus wishing to have his power more firmly assured, and perceiving, that if he could make the people his friends, he would govern with greater security, ingratiated himself with all by kind words, and carried himself to everybody in an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he soon got a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were wicked and deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas' party. And when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the nation, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party. And when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, but was unequal to him in strength, he resolved to apply to king Demetrius for assistance; so he went to Antioch, and exasperated him against Judas, accusing him of having suffered a good deal at his hands, and saying that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, by a powerful force being sent against him.

§ 4. Then Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing injurious to his own interest to overlook Judas, now he was become so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most affectionate and faithful of all his friends (for it was he who fled away with him from the city of Rome), and also gave him as large a force as he thought sufficient to conquer Judas, and bade him not spare the nation at all. Now when Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he resolved not to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery, so he sent him a message of peace, and said there was no necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves, and he would pledge him his oath that he would do him no harm, for he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius' intentions were, and what his views about

their nation. When Nicanor delivered this message, Judas and his brothers listened to him, suspecting no deceit, and gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army. But while he was greeting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his soldiers to seize Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers and fled away with them. And upon this discovery of his purpose, and the trap laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war upon him, and gathered his army together, and made preparations for fighting him, and on joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama,[1] he beat him, and forced him to flee to the citadel which was in Jerusalem.

§ 5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel to the temple, some of the priests and elders met him and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they said they were offering to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened, unless the people delivered up Judas to him, to pull down the temple on his return. And when he had thus threatened, he departed from Jerusalem, but the priests fell into tears for grief at what he said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. Now Nicanor, when he was gone from Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethhoron,[2] pitched his camp there, another army from Syria having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp at Adasa,[3] another village thirty furlongs from Bethhoron, having with him no more than a thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, overcame the enemy after a severe fight, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself fell fighting gloriously. Upon his fall his army did not stay, but having lost their general turned to flight and threw down their arms; and Judas pursued them, and slew

[1] Not identified. [2] *Beit 'Ur.*
[3] *Kh. 'Adaseh*, eight miles south of *Jufna*, Gophna.

them; and gave notice to the neighbouring villages by the sound of the trumpets that he had conquered the enemy. And when the inhabitants heard the trumpets they put on their armour quickly, and met their enemies as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, and there were nine thousand of them. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month, which is by the Jews called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews celebrate this victory every year thereon, and esteem the day as a festival. After this the Jewish nation was for a while free from wars, and enjoyed peace, but afterwards it returned to its former state of wars and perils.

§ 6. And now, as the high priest Alcimus meant to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down speechless upon the ground, and after undergoing torments for several days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas, who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia and Iberia and Carthage in Libya, and that besides these they had subdued Greece, and the kings Perseus and Philip and Antiochus the Great, resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome two of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them begged the Romans to assist them and be their friends, and to write to Demetrius not to fight against the Jews. And the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discussed with them the errand on which they came, and granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judæa. It was also laid up in the Capitol, and engraven on tables of brass. The decree itself was as follows. "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war against the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so either with corn or ships or money. And if any people attack the Jews, the Romans

shall assist them to the utmost of their power. Again, if any people attack the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add anything to, or withdraw anything from, this league of assistance, it shall be done with the common consent of the people of the Romans. And whatever addition shall thus be made shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and his brother Simon general of the army. And thus came about the first league between the Romans and the Jews.

CHAP. XI.

How Bacchides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell fighting courageously.

§ 1.

NOW when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judæa, who set out from Antioch, and came into Judæa, and pitched his camp at Arbela,[1] a city of Galilee, and having besieged and taken those that were in caves there[2] (for many of the people had fled to them), he removed from thence and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho,[3] he hurried up against him his army consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand.[4] When these saw the number of Bacchides' men they were afraid, and left their camp, and

[1] *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

[2] The caves in the *Wâdy Hammâm*, below *Irbid*.

[3] In 1 Macc. ix. 4, Berea, probably *Bîreh*, north of Jerusalem.

[4] That Josephus' copy had here not 1,000 but 3,000, with 1 Macc. ix. 5, is very plain, because though the main part ran away at first even in Josephus, as well as in 1 Macc. ix. 6, yet, as there, so here, 800 are said to have remained with Judas, which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1,000.—W.

fled away, all but eight hundred. Now though Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed him hard and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides' army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not able to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now and save themselves, and that when he had got all his men together, he should then fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing as that I should show my back to the enemy; and even though this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatever comes, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former exploits, and tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those who remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

§ 2. Then Bacchides led his army out of their camp, and put them in battle array. He set the horse on both the wings, and posted the light soldiers and archers in front of the whole line, and stationed himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to engage with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them, and both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, when Judas noticed that Bacchides and the strongest part of the army was on the right wing, so he took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, wedging himself into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as a mountain called Aza.[1] But when those on the left wing saw that the right wing was routed, they hemmed Judas in and pursued him, and came behind him, and got him in the middle of

[1] The 'Mount Azotus' of 1 Macc. ix. 15-18. Apparently the hill of *Bîr ez-Zeit*, near *Jufna*, Gophna.

their army; so not being able to fly, but surrounded by enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought desperately, and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he was at last wounded and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way worthy of his former famous actions. When Judas had fallen, those that were with him had no one whom they could look to, so when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas' brothers, received his dead body from the enemy under a truce, and carried it to the village of Modiim, where their father had been buried, and there they buried him, and the people lamented for him many days, and performed the usual solemn funeral rites. And this was the end of Judas, a noble man and great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattathias, who endured all things, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And his character being so excellent, he left behind him a glorious reputation and memory by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high-priesthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRIA.

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas, and with his brother Simon waged War against Bacchides.

§ 1.

HOW the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and how many and great struggles their general

Judas went through, till he was slain fighting for them, has been related in the previous book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprung up again in Judæa, and flourished, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness and afflicted the country, till not a few, by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like other nations, and committed the care of the country to them. And they arrested the friends of Judas, and those of party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had first tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, by that means at last killed them. And when this misery of the Jews had become so great, that they had never experienced the like since their return from Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing the nation perishing miserably, went to his brother Jonathan, and begged that he would imitate his brother and the care which he took of his countrymen, for whose general liberty he died, and that he would not let the nation be without a leader, especially in its present ruin. And when Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, as he was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

§ 2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and to the Macedonians, as Judas had been before, he sought to slay him by treachery; but this intention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon: and when these two were apprised of it, they took all their companions, and hastily fled into the wilderness which was nearest to the city, and when they were come to a lake called Asphar,[1] they abode there. But when Bacchides heard that they had shifted their quarters, and were in

[1] Probably one of the small reservoirs for collecting rain water in the desert. Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 2, § 22) uses λάκκος for the subterranean chambers in which he stored his wine.

that place, he marched against them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond the Jordan, recruited his army. And when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatæan Arabs, that he might deposit his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. But the sons of Amaræus laid an ambush for John from the city of Medaba,[1] as he was on his journey to the Nabatæans, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them, and slew John and all his companions. However, they were adequately punished for what they now did by John's brothers, as I shall relate presently.

§ 3. Now when Bacchides learnt that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the marshes of the Jordan, he watched for the Sabbath-day, and then attacked him, supposing that he would not fight on that day because of the law. But Jonathan exhorted his companions to fight, and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were hemmed in by the river and by their enemies, and had no way of escape, for their enemies pressed upon them in front, and the river was behind them. And after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him, but he foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river and swam across it, and by that means escaped beyond the Jordan, as the enemy did not pursue them over that river: but Bacchides returned at once to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many of the cities of Judæa, whose walls had been demolished, as Jericho, and Emmaus,[2] and Bethoron,[3] and Bethel,[4] and Timnath,[5] and Pharatho,[6] and Tekoa,[7] and Gazara.[8] And he built towers in every one

[1] *Medeba*, east of Jordan, and four miles S.E. of *Hesbân*, Heshbon.
[2] Emmaus, Nicopolis, *'Amwâs*. [3] *Beit 'Ur el-Foka*.
[4] *Beitîn*. [5] *Tibnah*.
[6] *Fer'ata*, about six miles W. of *Nâblus*, Shechem. [7] *Kh. Teku'a*.
[8] Gezer, *Tell Jezar*, four miles W. of *Amwâs*.

of those cities, and encompassed them with strong and high walls, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as hostages, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded them.

§ 4. About the same time a person came to Jonathan and his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Amaræus were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, from the city of Gabatha,[1] and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendour. So Jonathan and Simon, thinking that a most favourable opportunity had presented itself for avenging the death of their brother John, and that they had forces sufficient to take satisfaction from them for his death, marched to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies. And as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin and her bridegroom, and a great company of friends with them such as was to be expected at a wedding, they sallied out of their ambush and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, after taking this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Amaræus, for as well as those sons themselves, their friends and wives and children that followed them perished, being in all about four hundred.

§ 5. Then Simon and Jonathan returned to the marshes of the Jordan, and there abode. And Bacchides, when he had secured all Judæa with his garrisons, returned to the king: and now the affairs of Judæa were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly because of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and besought him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they showed could be done without any trouble, for in one night, if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all.

[1] Possibly *Jeb'a*.

So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judæa, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and allies, to seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; but when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was aware of the snares laid for him, and on his guard against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him and the king, and took and slew fifty of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother and those that were with him, retired to Bethalaga,[1] a village that lay in the wilderness, from fear of Bacchides. He also built towers, and encompassed it with walls, so that he should be safely guarded. Upon hearing this Bacchides led out his army, and took his Jewish allies besides, and marched against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days. But Jonathan did not abate his courage at the energy Bacchides displayed in the siege, but courageously opposed him, and leaving his brother Simon in the city to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got together a great body of men of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides' camp in the night-time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon also knew of his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him, so he too sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used in the siege, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself intercepted by the enemies, some of them before and some behind him, he fell into dejection and trouble of mind, being confounded at the unexpected ill success of the siege. However, he vented his displeasure at this *contretemps* upon those deserters who got him sent by the king, as having deluded him; and wished to raise the siege in a dignified manner, if it were possible for him to do so, and then to return home.

§ 6. When Jonathan heard of his intention, he sent ambassadors to him, to propose friendship and mutual alliance, and that they should restore the captives taken on both sides. Bacchides thought this a dignified way of

[1] In 1 Macc. ix. 62, Beth-basi, apparently Beth-Hoglah, *'Ain Hajlah*, near the north end of the Dead Sea.

retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, and they swore that they would not any more make war against one another. Accordingly they exchanged prisoners, and he returned to Antioch to the king, and after this departure never invaded Judæa again. Then Jonathan, having obtained this quiet state of things, went and lived in the city of Michmash,[1] and there governed the people, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and so purged the nation of them.

CHAP. II.

How Alexander, warring with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Favours, and appointed him to be High Priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Favours on the other side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1.

NOW in the hundred and sixtieth year it so fell out that Alexander,[2] the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, went up into Syria and took Ptolemais,[3] the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were vexed with Demetrius on account of his haughtiness and difficulty of access; for he used to shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself not far from Antioch, and would admit nobody. He was also slothful and negligent about public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as I have already related elsewhere. But when Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, to propose mutual alliance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest he should treat with Jonathan first, and gain assistance from him: and this he did from the fear he had that Jonathan would remember how ill he Demetrius had formerly treated him,

[1] *Mukhmâs.*
[2] Alexander Balas claimed the throne in 152 B.C.
[3] *St. Jean d'Acre, 'Akka.*

and would join Alexander in the war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those Jewish hostages whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel at Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan by the concession of Demetrius, he went to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people and of those that kept the citadel. When this was read, those wicked men and deserters who were in the citadel were greatly afraid, on the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army and to receive back the hostages. And he delivered every one of them up to their parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and arranging everything as he pleased, and he gave orders that the walls of the city should be built with square stones, that it might be more secure against enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judæa saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, except those that were in the city of Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for most of these were of the wicked Jews and deserters, and so did not deliver up their garrisons.

§ 2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and also knew his courage and what great things he had done when he fought against the Macedonians, and also what hardships he had undergone at the hands of Demetrius and Bacchides the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends that he could not at the present conjuncture find any one that could afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was not only courageous against his enemies, but also had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many injuries from him, and done many injuries to him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, nothing was more for their advantage now than to invite him to assist them. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him the following letter. "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for

that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual alliance. We therefore appoint thee this day high priest of the Jews, and order that thou art to be called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and beg, now thou art honoured by us, that thou wilt reciprocate our sentiments."

§ 3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the high priest's robe at the time of the feast of Tabernacles,[1] four years after the death of his brother Judas, for since that time no high priest had been made. And he raised a large force, and had a quantity of arms made. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his tardiness in not anticipating Alexander in getting the good-will of Jonathan, and giving him opportunity to do so. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan and to the people, the contents whereof were as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan and to the nation of the Jews greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and though you have been tempted by my enemies, have not joined yourselves to them, I not only commend you for this your fidelity, but also exhort you to continue in the same, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards and favours from us. For I will free you from most of the tribute and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me;[2] and instead of the third part of

[1] Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontifical robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feast of Tabernacles in the 160th year of the Selucidæ, 1 Maccab. x. 21, Petitus's emendation seems here to deserve consideration, who, instead of four years after the death of his brother Judas, would have us read eight years after the death of his brother Judas. This would tolerably well agree with the date of the Maccabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.—W.

[2] Take Grotius's note here: "The Jews (says he) were wont to present crowns to the kings [of Syria;] afterwards that gold, which was paid instead of those crowns, or which was expended in making them, was called the crown gold and crown tax." On 1 Maccab. x. 29.—W.

the fruits [of the field,] and half the fruits of the trees, I give up my share of them from this day. And as to the poll-tax, which ought to be paid me for every inhabitant of Judæa, and of the three toparchies that adjoin Judæa, Samaria and Galilee and Peræa, this I concede to you now and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from tithe and taxes to its utmost bounds: and I permit your high priest Jonathan to hold the citadel, that he may place as garrison in it such persons as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service. And let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any public burdens. I likewise set free the Jews that dwell in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done to them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to enlist in my army, that as many as thirty thousand may do so, which Jewish soldiers, wherever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army has: and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and some as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them, and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that adjoin Judæa, and it shall be in the power of the high priest to see that not one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but that at Jerusalem. I offer also out of my own revenues yearly, for the expenses of the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ, and what money is over I will that it shall be your own. I also remit to you those ten thousand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, because they belong to the priests that minister in the temple. And whoever shall flee to the temple at Jerusalem, or to its precincts, either owing the king money, or on any other account, let them be set free, and let their property be untouched. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that at my expense. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high

towers, and let them be erected at my expense. And if there be any fortress that would be convenient to have very strong in the country of the Jews, let it be built at my expense."

§ 4. This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, in this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that joined him from Syria, and marched against Demetrius. And in the battle that ensued, the left wing of Demetrius put those opposite them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp, but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten. And as for all the rest, they ran away, but Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy, but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, upon his horse's falling down, that he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they turned back, and surrounded Demetrius, and all threw their darts at him, and he being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to resist any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius[1] came to when he had reigned eleven years, as I have elsewhere related.

CHAP. III.

The Friendship between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor; and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like that at Jerusalem.

§ 1.

NOW the son of Onias the high priest, who had the same name as his father, and who had fled to king Ptolemy,[2] who was called Philometor, lived now at Alexandria, as I have said already; and when he saw that Judæa was ravaged by the Macedonians and their kings, desiring to purchase to himself eternal memory and fame, he resolved

[1] The defeat and death of Demetrius was in 150 B.C.
[2] Ptolemy VI., Philometor, 181-146 B.C.

to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous to do so was that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived more than six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to the most high God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was incited by this prediction, and wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. "Having done you many and great services in war by the help of God, and being in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and having gone with the Jews to Leontopolis[1] in the district of Heliopolis, and to other places of your nation, I found that most of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on that account they bore ill-will to one another, which happened to the Egyptians because of the multitude of their temples, and their different opinions about divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a stronghold that has its name from rural Bubastis,[2] the place is full of wood of various kinds and sacred animals. I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no special divinity and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to the most high God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, for the benefit of yourself and your wife and children, that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may have a place where they may come and meet together in mutual harmony with one another, and assist you in your needs. For the prophet Isaiah foretold that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God. And many other such things did he prophesy relating to the place."

§ 2. This was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may conjecture his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by the letter which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the sin and transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. For this was their reply. "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to

[1] Probably *Tell el-Yehûdi*, near the *Shibîn el-Kanater* railway station.
[2] *Tell Basta*, near the *Zagazig* railway station.

be given thee to purge the temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis in the district of Heliopolis, and which has its name from the rural Bubastis. So we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have offended God at all in the matter."

§ 3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it needful for me now to describe its dimensions or its vessels, which have been already described in the seventh book of my Jewish War. And Onias found some Jews like himself, and priests and Levites to perform divine service there. But I have said enough about this temple.

§ 4. Now it came to pass that the Jews in Alexandria had a quarrel with the Samaritans, who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander on Mount Gerizim, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying that according to the laws of Moses the temple was to be built at Jerusalem, and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built on Mount Gerizim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear a debate on these matters, and punish those with death who were beaten in the argument. Now Sabbæus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem and the Jews. And they swore by God and the king to prove their case according to the law, and they desired of Ptolemy, that he would put to death whoever he should find violated what they had sworn to. And the king took several of his friends into counsel, and sat down to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those who were to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should try to take away the reputation of their temple, which was so ancient and celebrated all over the world. Now as Sabbæus and Theodosius gave leave to

Andronicus to speak first, he began to show, from the law and the succession of the high priests, how every one had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple in succession from his father, and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their votive offerings and the most splendid gifts, while as for that at Gerizim, no one made any account of it, or regarded it, as if it had a being at all. By this speech and similar arguments Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbæus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

CHAP. IV.

How Alexander greatly honoured Jonathan, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and became King himself, and made a League of Friendship with Jonathan.

§ 1.

DEMETRIUS having been slain in battle, as I have stated above, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria, and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor asking his daughter in marriage, and said it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one who had now recovered the throne of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and was on other accounts not unworthy of being connected with him. Ptolemy received this offer of marriage gladly, and wrote him an answer, congratulating him on account of his having recovered the throne of his forefathers, and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and desiring him to meet him at Ptolemais, as he would bring his daughter there, for he would accompany her so far from Egypt, and would there give her to him in marriage. When Ptolemy had written this, he soon went to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him,

as he desired him, he gave him his daughter in marriage, and for her dowry gave as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

§ 2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. And when he came to the kings, and made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander also compelled him to put off his own garment, and to put on a purple garment, and made him sit with him on his throne, and commanded his captains to go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to cause him any trouble. And when the captains had done so, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he registered him as the principal of his friends.

§ 3. Now in the hundred and sixty-fifth year Demetrius,[1] the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, whom Lasthenes the Cretan furnished him with, and sailed to Cilicia. This news threw Alexander into great concern and anxiety, so he hastened immediately from Phœnicia to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Cœle-Syria, who coming to Jamnia[2] with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, that it was not right that he alone should live in security and authority, not being subject to the king, and that this brought him reproach among all men, that he had not yet made himself subject to the king. "Do not thou therefore deceive thyself (he continued), sitting among the mountains, and thinking thyself strong, but if thou hast any reliance on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be pitted together, and the event of the battle will prove which of us is the best man. Know, however, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and these are the

[1] Demetrius II., Nicator, landed in Syria in 148 B.C.

[2] *Yebnah.*

very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle on ground where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place where those that are beaten may flee to."

§ 4. Jonathan was irritated at this message, and picking out ten thousand of his soldiers, marched from Jerusalem with his brother Simon, and went to Joppa, and pitched his camp outside the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But as Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take the city by storm, so they opened the gates to him. And Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horse and eight thousand foot, and went to Azotus,[1] and removing thence made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, feigned to retire, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as he prided himself highly upon his horse, and placed his hopes of victory principally in them. And Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Azotus; and as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. Now Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might take their enemies in the rear, and though Jonathan perceived this, he was in no consternation, but ordering his army to form a square he charged them to repel the enemy on both sides, and set them so as to face those that attacked them both before and behind. And as the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies' lines, but he himself charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and so receive the darts of the horsemen. And they did as they were commanded, so that the enemy's horsemen, though they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter their bodies, as they lit upon their shields, that were joined and united together, the compactness of which easily resisted the force of the darts, which glanced off without

[1] *Esdûd.*

taking effect. But when the enemy grew tired of throwing darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the main body of the enemy, and as his soldiers fought with great vigour, he put them to flight. And when the horse saw that the foot ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but being very weary by the fight lasting till the evening, and their hope from the foot being quite gone, they ran away in great disorder and confusion, till they separated from one another, and were scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Azotus, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, who despaired of escaping, to flee to the temple of Dagon, which was at Azotus. But Jonathan took the city at the first onset, and burnt it and the villages round it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but he burnt it also, and so killed those that had fled to it. Now the entire number of the enemies that fell in the battle, or were burnt to death in the temple, was eight thousand. Now when Jonathan had overcome so great an army, he removed from Azotus, and went to Ascalon,[1] and when he had pitched his camp outside the city, the people of Ascalon came out and met him, bringing him presents, and honouring him; and he gratefully accepted their kindness, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of spoil which he got when he conquered his enemies. And when Alexander heard that his general Apollonius was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with his friend and ally Jonathan against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and bore testimony to his worth, and gave him honorary rewards,[2] as a gold pin, which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron[3] and its toparchy as his own inheritance.

§ 5. About this time king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, came to Syria with a land and sea force to the

[1] *'Askalân.*

[2] Dr. Hudson here observes, that the Phœnicians and Romans used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a 'gold pin.' See chap. 5, § 4.—W.

[3] *'Akir.*

assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law;[1] and all the cities received him in a friendly manner, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Azotus, where all made loud complaints about the burning of the temple of Dagon, and accused Jonathan of having destroyed it and the adjacent country with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to Joppa to meet Ptolemy, and received from him handsome presents, and all marks of honour. And when he had escorted him as far as the river called Eleutherus,[2] he returned again to Jerusalem.

§ 6. But when Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, most unexpectedly he was very near destruction, for he was plotted against by Alexander, through Ammonius who was his friend. And when the plot was detected, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and demanded of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him of the way he had plotted against him, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished. But as Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who had laid the design, and was very angry with him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch because of Ammonius, for they had suffered very much at his hands. However Ammonius at length underwent the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner as a woman, having endeavoured to conceal himself in feminine dress, as I have elsewhere related.

§ 7. And now Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for assisting him against Demetrius, so he dissolved his connection with him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make league of mutual alliance and friendship with him, and agreed to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the throne of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this message, and accepted his alliance, and his

[1] Alexander Balas had married Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor.

[2] *Nahr el-Kebîr*, north of Tripolis.

daughter's hand in marriage. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were hostile to him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them, yet he did bring it about. For as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius' account, as I have related already, they were easily prevailed to cast him out of Antioch; and he, being thus expelled out of Antioch, went into Cilicia. Ptolemy then went to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt. But being naturally a good and righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and, besides this being also wise in reading the future, he determined to avoid exciting the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and urged them to receive Demetrius; and assured them, that he would not be mindful of what they had done to his father, in case he should now be obliged by them; and undertook that he would himself be a good preceptor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; and said that for his part he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By these words he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

§ 8. And now Alexander marched from Cilicia into Syria with a numerous and great army, and burnt and ravaged the country belonging to Antioch, whereupon Ptolemy and his son-in-law Demetrius (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage), led their army against him, and beat Alexander, and put him to flight, and he fled to Arabia. Now it happened, in the battle, that Ptolemy's horse was frightened at hearing the cry of an elephant, and threw him, and his enemies seeing this rushed at him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his bodyguards rescued him, he was so very ill, that for four days he was insensible and speechless. However, Zabel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and becoming sensible on the fifth day, heard at once most agree-

able news, and saw a most agreeable sight, namely heard of the death and saw the head of Alexander; yet a little after this joy and satisfaction at the death of Alexander, he also departed this life. Now, Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as I have related elsewhere.

§ 9. But when Demetrius, who was also called Nicator,[1] had taken over the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the alliance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman by his marriage with Cleopatra, so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius retained the elephants. And Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judæa, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those impious men who had abandoned the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan to take the place, relying on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was being besieged; and he was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and went from Antioch against Jonathan. And when he was at Ptolemais he wrote to him, and commanded him to come quickly to him there; upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people and the priests, and carried with him gold and silver and garments, and a great number of presents, and went to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and so pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had got it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when Jonathan petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judæa and the three toparchies of Samaria

[1] This name, 'Demetrius Nicator,' or 'Demetrius the Conqueror,' is so written on his still extant coins, as Hudson and Spanheim inform us; the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, 'King Demetrius the God Philadelphus Nicator.'—W.

Peræa and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter whose contents were as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, greeting. We have sent you a copy of the letter which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. 'King Demetrius to Lasthenes his father greeting. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour, to the nation of the Jews, who have acted uprightly to us. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherima,[1] Lydda,[2] and Ramatha,[3] which were added to Judæa out of Samaria, with their appurtenances, as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth and trees, and what else belongs to us, as the salt pits and crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes either now or henceforth.' Take care therefore that a copy of this letter be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in some prominent place in the holy temple." Such were the contents of the letter. And now, when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere, and that there was no danger nor fear of war, he disbanded his army, and diminished their pay, and was bountiful only to such foreigners as had come with him from Crete and the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, whereas the kings before him used to pay them even in time of peace as much as they did in war, that they might have their goodwill, and that they might be very ready to undergo the perils of war, if occasion should require.

[1] Probably Ephraim, *Taiyibeh*. [2] *Ludd*.
[3] Probably the same as Ramathaim-Zophim, in Mount Ephraim; not identified.

CHAP. V.

How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, handed over the kingdom to Antiochus the Son of Alexander, and got Jonathan for his Ally; and concerning the Actions and Embassies of Jonathan.

§ 1.

NOW a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apamian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, though he was also called Trypho,[1] took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bore to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who was bringing up Antiochus the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bore to Demetrius, and persuaded him to hand over to him Antiochus, for he said he would make him king, and restore to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at first opposed him in this, as he did not trust him, but as Trypho urged him for a long time, he at last persuaded him to comply with his views. Such was the state of affairs with Trypho.

§ 2. Meantime Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get rid of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers from the strongholds of Judæa. Demetrius made answer that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also, and begged him to send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had revolted. So Jonathan picked out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

§ 3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of the mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had very badly treated them; so they

[1] Trypho, according to Strabo, was a native of Cariana, in the district of Apamea, *Kal'ât el-Medyk*, in Syria.

watched for some opportunity which they might lay hold of, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, they took up arms, and surrounded his palace as if besieging it, and occupied all the outlets, and sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers whom he had with him, and those Jews who had been sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them and beaten, for they were many myriads. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were getting the better of it, they went up to the roof of the palace, and shot at them from thence, and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on them, fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire. Thereupon the flames spread over the whole city, and burnt it all down, by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were mostly built of wood; and the Antiochians, as they were not able to help themselves, or put out the fire, turned to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it happened that the pursuit was very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were anxious to save their children and wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow streets and fought them, and slew a great number of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and surrender to Demetrius. And he forgave them their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the rebellion: and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoil he had got, and had returned them thanks as the authors of his victory, he sent them back to Jerusalem to Jonathan, testifying to the assistance they had afforded him. But he behaved ill to Jonathan afterwards, and broke the promises he had made, and threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all the tribute

which the Jewish nation had paid the former kings. And he would have done so, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan into concern for his own preservation. For Trypho returned from Arabia to Syria with the lad Antiochus, for he was yet but a youth in age, and put the diadem on his head: and as the whole forces that had deserted from Demetrius, because they could get no pay, came over to him, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city of Antioch.

§ 4. Demetrius upon his defeat retired into Cilicia, and the lad Antiochus sent ambassadors and a letter to Jonathan, and made him his friend and ally, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judæa. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple robe, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a gold pin, and ordered him to be called one of his principal friends, and made his brother Simon general over his forces from the Ladder of Tyre to Egypt. And Jonathan was so well pleased with these favours of Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed himself his friend and ally, and said he would join him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that Demetrius had made no proper return for the favours he had done him, for though he had received many kindnesses from him when he stood in great need of them, he had for such good turns requited him with injuries.

§ 5. And as Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to enlist a numerous army in Syria and Phœnicia, and to make war against Demetrius' generals, he set out at once to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no troops into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Ascalon,[1] the inhabitants of Ascalon came and brought him presents, and entertained him handsomely. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Cœle-Syria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join Antiochus, and to assist him in his endeavour to punish Demetrius

[1] *'Askalân.*

for the offences he had formerly been guilty of against themselves: and he told them there were many reasons for that step, if they had a mind to take it. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he went to Gaza, in order to induce it also to be friendly to Antiochus. But he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they shut their gates against him, and although they had deserted Demetrius, they resolved not to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to ravage their country, for he set a part of his army round Gaza itself, and with the rest he overran their land, and devastated it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves suffering thus, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, and that what distressed them was at hand, but what might aid them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer adherence to Demetrius, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and promised to be his friends, and afford him assistance. For such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage, but when they find themselves in any evil plight, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all hurt, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such hurt. And Jonathan made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent those hostages to Jerusalem, while he himself went over all the country as far as Damascus.

§ 6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius' forces were come with a numerous army to the city of Kadesh,[1] which lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee (for they supposed they should so draw him out of Syria to preserve Galilee, for they thought he would not allow war to be made upon the Galilæans, who were his

[1] *Kades*, on the hills west of the lake *el-Hûleh*.

own people), he went to meet them, having left his brother Simon in Judæa, who raised as large an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, it being the strongest place in all Judæa; and a garrison of Demetrius' kept it, as I have already related. And as Simon was throwing up earthworks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura,[1] and was very energetic in the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken by Simon by storm, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and then they would evacuate the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and so got them out of the city, and put therein a garrison of his own.

§ 7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee from the waters which are called Gennesar,[2] for there he had encamped, and went into the plain that is called Asor,[3] without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius' men knew, a day beforehand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they set men in ambush on the mountain, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain: and when Jonathan saw this army ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able. But those men that were set to lie in ambush by Demetrius' generals having appeared on the Jews' flank, they were afraid lest they should be taken between two fires and be exterminated, so they all fled headlong, and left Jonathan, except about fifty who stayed with him, and among them Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chapsæus, who were leaders of the whole army. And they advanced boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so attacked them that by their courage they daunted them, and by their valour put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retreated saw the enemy giving way,

[1] *Beit Sûr*, four miles north of Hebron.

[2] The springs at *et-Tabighah*, which watered the plain of Gennesareth; or, perhaps, the Sea of Galilee.

[3] The plain near *Jebel Hadîrah*, not far from *Kades*, Kedesh Napthali.

they rallied after their flight, and pursued them hotly as far as Kadesh, where the camp of the enemy was.

§ 8. Jonathan having thus won a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. And when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing the friendship which their nation had had with them formerly. He also enjoined on his ambassadors as they returned to go to the Spartans, and remind them that they were their friends and kindred. So when the ambassadors got to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that so they might get safe conduct back to their own country. And as they returned, they went to Sparta, and delivered the letter which they had received from Jonathan for them, a copy of which here follows. "Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate and commonalty of the Jews, to the ephors and senate and people of the Lacedæmonians, who are their brothers, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your minds, it is according to our wishes; and we are well also. When in former times a letter was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the relationship between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we not only joyfully received the letter, but were also well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a testimony, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings.[1] Yet

[1] This clause is otherwise rendered in the first book of Maccabees, xii. 9. "For that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us." The Hebrew original being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the truest version, only the coherence favours Josephus. But if this were the Jews' meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible that the Jews and Lacedæmonians were akin, that part of their Bible is now lost, for we find no such assertion in our present copies. —W.

we did not think fit first to claim this relationship to you, lest we should seem premature in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this our relationship to you was renewed; and when upon holy and festival days we offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your safety and victory. As for ourselves, although we have had many wars that have come to us through the covetousness of our neighbours, yet we determined not to be troublesome either to you or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and had occasion to send Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them a letter to you also, that they might renew our mutual friendship. You will therefore also do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." And the Lacedæmonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual alliance, and sent it to them.

§ 9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the third the sect of the Essenes. As for the Pharisees,[1] they say that some, but not all, actions are

[1] Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three accounts of the notions of the Pharisees, this here, and the earlier one in the Jewish War, ii. 8, § 14, and the latter, Antiq. xviii. 1, § 3, as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless: he ever, as the very learned Casaubon here truly observes, asserting, that the Pharisees were between the Essenes and Sadducees, and did ascribe all to fate, or divine providence, as much as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or providence, as overruling all things, made it commonly thought they were willing to excuse their sins by ascribing them to fate. Perhaps under the same general name some different opinions in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, especially in points of metaphysical subtility: however, our Josephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Essenes, was yet in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, Life, § 2. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees is certainly agreeable to his own opinion, who fully

the work of fate, and some are in our own power, either to do or not to do. And the Essenes affirm that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its decree. But the Sadducees take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human life are not at its disposal, and suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we ourselves are the authors of what is good, and bring our troubles on ourselves by our own folly. But I have given a more exact account of all these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

§ 10. Now the generals of Demetrius, wishing to retrieve the defeat they had had, gathered together a greater army than they had had before, and marched against Jonathan. And he, as soon as he was informed of their coming, went quickly to meet them, to the district of Amathis,[1] for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judæa. So he pitched his camp fifty furlongs from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and see how it was drawn up. When his spies had given him full information, and had captured some men by night, who told him the enemy intended to attack him, he, being thus apprised beforehand, provided for his security, and placed outposts outside his camp, and kept his men armed all night; and charged them to be of good courage and resolve to fight even in the night-time, if they should be obliged to do so, that their enemies' designs might not be concealed from them. But when Demetrius' generals found out that Jonathan knew what they intended they were puzzled, and alarmed to find that the enemy had discovered their intentions, nor did they expect to overcome them in any other way, now they had failed in the snare they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army. So they resolved to flee, and having lit many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they decamped. And when

allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet strongly believed the interposition of divine Providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, Antiq. xvi. 11, § 7.—W.

[1] Hamath, *Hama* in Syria.

Jonathan came to their camp in the morning, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, but could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus,[1] and were out of danger. And when Jonathan returned from thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabatæans, and drove off a great deal of their cattle, and took [many] captives, and went to Damascus, and there sold all that he had taken. And about the same time Simon his brother went over all Judæa and Palestine, as far as Ascalon, and fortified the strongholds; and when he had made them very strong, both by works and the garrisons placed in them, he went to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he introduced a strong garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa wished to deliver up the city to Demetrius' generals.

§ 11. When Simon and Jonathan had arranged these matters, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and advised restoring the walls of Jerusalem, and rebuilding the wall round the temple precincts that had been thrown down, and making the adjoining places stronger by very high towers; and besides that building another wall in the midst of the city, to exclude the garrison, which was in the citadel, from the market-place, and so to hinder them from any plentiful supply of provisions; and moreover making the fortresses that were in the country much stronger and more secure than they were before. And when this advice was approved of by the multitude as good, Jonathan himself superintended the building in the city, and despatched Simon to make the fortresses in the country more secure than before. But Demetrius crossed over and went into Mesopotamia, wishing to occupy that country and Babylon, and by becoming master of the upper satrapies to get a *point d'appui* for recovering his entire kingdom; for the Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt in those parts frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. Elated by these hopes he marched

[1] *Nahr el-Kebîr.*

to them, having resolved that, if he once overthrew the Parthians, and got a sufficient army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him from Syria. And as the people of that country received him with great enthusiasm, he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as I have elsewhere related.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan was slain by Treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High Priest: and what courageous Actions he performed, especially against Trypho.

§ 1.

NOW when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer loyal to Antiochus, but devised how he might kill him and take possession of his kingdom: but his fear of Jonathan was an obstacle to this design, for Jonathan was a friend of Antiochus. So he resolved first to get Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his attempt on Antiochus; and resolving to take him off by deceit and treachery, he went from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis,[1] at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand picked men, for he suspected he came to fight him. But when Trypho perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him over by presents and by treating him in a friendly manner, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means wished to make him believe in his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and heedless, and take him off his guard. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was now no occasion for bringing it with him, as there was no war but all was in peace. However, he begged him to retain a few men about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for he

[1] *Beisân.*

would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came there for that very purpose.

§ 2. Now Jonathan did not suspect anything at all of his intentions, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and in sincerity. Accordingly he dismissed most of his army, and retained no more than three thousand, and left two thousand of these in Galilee, and himself, with one thousand, went with Trypho to Ptolemais: but when the people of Ptolemais [1] shut their gates, as they had been commanded by him to do, Trypho took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against the two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to kill them also, but they, having heard what had happened to Jonathan, were too quick for them, and before those that were sent by Trypho arrived, they armed themselves, intending to depart from the country. And when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no trouble, but returned back to Trypho.

§ 3. Now when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were killed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by everybody, and a great and reasonable fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and forethought of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will, and though they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, should now rise up against them, and, by making war against them, should put them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them, for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war against the Jews as now destitute of a leader; and Trypho himself got an army together, and was minded to go up to Judæa, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and so to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho

[1] *Acre, 'Akka.*

when he should come against them. So he called the people together into the temple, and there began to encourage them as follows. "My countrymen, you are not ignorant that my father, and myself, and my brothers, have hazarded our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty. Since I have therefore such examples before me, and we of our family have determined even to die for our laws and religion, no terror shall be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity wherever I shall lead you, not being destitute of a leader willing to suffer and dare the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brothers that I should be sparing of my own life, nor worse than them so as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things, namely, to undergo death for your laws and worship of God. I will therefore give them sufficient proof that I am their very brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and with God's assistance preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that these nations hold you in contempt, as being without a leader, and so are encouraged to make war against you."

§ 4. By this speech Simon inspired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch, that the whole multitude of the people cried out with one voice that Simon should be their leader; and that, instead of his brothers Judas and Jonathan, he should have the government over them: and they promised that they would obey him whatever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste to rebuild the walls of the city, and to strengthen it by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absolom, to Joppa, and gave him orders to eject its inhabitants, for he was afraid that they would deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself stayed to look after Jerusalem.

§ 5. Now Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judæa, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. And Simon met him with his army at the city of Addida,[1] which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judæa. And when Trypho knew that Simon had been made their leader by the Jews, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery, and bade him, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, to send a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he should be released, he would not make Judæa revolt from the king, for at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and still owed. But although Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and that he himself would also be delivering up the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he would be calumniated among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made, and added that the offers were a snare and treacherous, and yet that it was preferable to send the money and Jonathan's sons than to be liable to the imputation of being unwilling to save his brother through not complying with Trypho's offers. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went all about the country, and resolved to go afterwards to Jerusalem by way of Idumæa, and went to Adora[2] a city of Idumæa. And Simon marched out against him with his army, and still kept pitching his own camp over against his.

§ 6. Now when those that were in the citadel sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he got his cavalry ready, as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night. But so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered

[1] *Haditheh*, close to Lydda.

[2] Adoraim of 2 Chron. xi. 9. *Dûra*, five miles west of Hebron.

the roads, and lay so deep, that there was no getting on, especially for horses. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem, so Trypho removed from thence, and went into Cœle-Syria, and made a hurried raid into the land of Gilead, and slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, returned himself to Antioch. But Simon sent some to the city Basca[1] to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modiim,[2] and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument of white and polished stone to his father and brothers, and raised it a great height, so as to be seen a long way off, and made porticoes about it, and set up pillars which were of one stone apiece, a work wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also to his parents and brothers, one for each of them, which were very wonderful both for size and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day. And we know that it was Simon who exhibited so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments to his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years,[3] and had also been the ruler of his nation. And these were the circumstances of his death.

§ 7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the people, in the very first year of his high priesthood set the nation free from their slavery under the Macedonians, so that they paid tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians,[4] which was

[1] The Bascama of 1 Macc. xiii. 23; not identified.

[2] *el-Medieh.*

[3] There is some error in the copies here, when no more than four years are ascribed to the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. xx. 10, that there was an interval of seven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the last high priest, and the real high-priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet those seven years seem here to be ascribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. xii. 10, § 6. Now since, besides these seven years' interregnum in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. xx. 10, that Jonathan's real high priesthood lasted seven years more; these two seven years will make up fourteen years, which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.—W.

[4] These 170 years of the Assyrians mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, than from the era of Seleucus, which, as it is known

after Seleucus,[1] who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the people to Simon was so great, that in their contracts with one another, and in their public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews:" for under him they were very successful, and overcame the enemies that were round about them. For Simon overthrew the cities of Gazara[2] and Joppa and Jamnia,[3] and took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and razed it to the ground, that it might not be any more a *point d'appui* for their enemies, when they occupied it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till then. And when he had done this, he thought it the best way, and for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And, indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it demolished, by reminding them what miseries they had suffered by its garrisons and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should seize the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good So they all set to work and levelled the mountain, and spent both day and night in that work without any intermission, and it took them three whole years before it was brought to a level with the rest of the city. After this the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel and mountain whereon it stood were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

to have begun in the 312th year before the Christian era, from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees, so did it not begin at Babylon till the next spring, on the 311th year. And it is truly observed by Dr. Hudson on this place, that the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, who says that "the Assyrians were afterwards called Syrians," i. 11. See Jewish War, v. 9, § 4, where the Philistines themselves, at the very south limit of Syria, in its utmost extent, are called Assyrians by Josephus, as Spanheim observes.—W.

[1] In 312 B.C.; the first year of Simon was 143-2 B.C.

[2] *Tell Jezar.* [3] *Yebnah.*

CHAP. VII.

How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made War against Trypho, and a little afterwards against Cendebæus, the General of Antiochus's Army; as also how Simon was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy.

§ 1.

NOW a little while after Demetrius had been captured, Trypho his governor murdered Antiochus [1] the son of Alexander,[2] who was called 'the god,' [3] when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends and those that were most intimate with him to the soldiers, and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would elect him king. He represented to them that Demetrius was made captive by the Parthians, and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he ever came to be king, would do them a great deal of hurt, in revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when he had gained the management of affairs, Trypho showed his wicked disposition. For while he was a private person he paid court to the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatever he pleased, but when he had once got the kingdom, he laid aside any further dissimulation, and was the true Trypho.[4] And this behaviour made his enemies superior to

[1] Antiochus VI., Theos, son of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra, 145 B.C.

[2] How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 55, viz. that he corrupted his physicians or surgeons, who falsely pretending to the people that he was perishing with the stone, as they cut him for it, killed him, which exactly agrees with Josephus.—W.

[3] That this Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas, was called 'the god,' is evident from his coins, which Spanheim assures us bear this inscription, 'King Antiochus the God, Epiphanes the Victorious.'—W.

[4] A paronomasia or play on his name, which might signify *Haughty* or *Insolent*.

him, for the soldiers hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia[1] with her children. But as Antiochus[2] (the brother of Demetrius) who was called Soter was wandering about, not being admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she invited him to do so were these, that her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

§ 2. After Antiochus had come to Seleucia, as his forces increased every day, he marched out to fight Trypho, and having beaten him in battle, drove him out of Upper Syria into Phœnicia, and pursued him there, and besieged him in Dora[3] where he had fled, which was a fortress hard to be taken. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the high priest of the Jews, about a league of friendship and mutual alliance. And he readily accepted his proposal and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions for those that besieged Dora, and supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his warmest friends. And Trypho fled from Dora to Apamea,[4] where he was besieged and taken, and put to death, after he had reigned three years.

§ 3. Antiochus, however, because of his covetous and wicked disposition forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, and handed over an army to his friend Cendebæus, and sent him to ravage Judæa, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus' iniquitous conduct, although he was now in years, yet, being exasperated at the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and with more spirit than his age warranted, he took like a young man the command of his army. He sent out his sons first with the bravest of his soldiers, and himself marched on with his army by another

[1] Near the mouth of the Orontes.

[2] Antiochus VII., Sidetes, 137 B.C.

[3] Dor, *Tantûrah*, on the sea coast, eight miles north of *Kaisarîyeh*, Cæsarea Palæstina.

[4] *Kal'ât el-Medyk*.

way, and laid many of his men in ambush in the narrow mountain passes, nor did he fail of success in any one of his manœuvres, but was too much for his enemies in every one of them. And he led the rest of his life in peace, and also himself made a league with the Romans.

§ 4. And he ruled over the Jews eight years, and came to his end at a feast through the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who also arrested his wife and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds, and sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was also Hyrcanus. But the young man perceiving them coming avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], relying on the good-will of the people, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the mob bore to Ptolemy. And when Ptolemy endeavoured to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, having already admitted Hyrcanus.

CHAP. VIII.

Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy from the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterwards makes a League with him.

§ 1.

SO Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, called Dagon:[1] but Hyrcanus, having taken the high priesthood that had been his father's before, first propitiated God by sacrifices, and then marched against Ptolemy, and when he attacked the fortress, he was in all other respects too much for Ptolemy, but was overcome by compassion for his mother and brothers. For Ptolemy brought them out on the walls, and ill-treated them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus raised the siege. And as he thought that the more he relaxed his energy about taking the place, the more did he show favour to those

[1] Not identified.

that were dearest to him by preventing their sufferings, he abated his zeal about it. However, his mother stretched out her hands, and implored him not to grow remiss on her account, but to be enraged so much the more, and to do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get his enemy in his power, and revenge himself upon him for what he had done to those that were his dearest ones; for death would be sweet to her, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs were but brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now, when his mother said this, Hyrcanus resolved to take the fortress, but when he saw her beaten and lacerated, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with his mother's sufferings, and so was overcome. And as the siege was protracted owing to this, the year in which the Jews are wont to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day. And Ptolemy, being for this cause released from the war,[1] slew the brothers and mother of Hyrcanus, and when he had so done, fled to Zeno, who was called Cotyla, the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia.[2]

§ 2. Now Antiochus, being very indignant at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, invaded Judæa in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the rule of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad.[3] And when he had ravaged the country, he shut Hyrcanus

[1] Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, the observation of the Sabbatic year, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from war, as did that of the weekly Sabbath from work: unless in case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which alone, they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath-day, as we see in several places of Josephus, Antiq. xii. 6, § 2; xiii. 1, § 3; Jewish War, i. 7, § 3. But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of Maccabees, chap. xvi., but the direct contrary; though indeed the Jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the Sabbath-day, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Maccabees decreed so to do, 1 Macc. ii. 32-41, Antiq. xii. 7, § 2.—W.

[2] Rabbath Ammon, east of Jordan, now *'Ammân*.

[3] Josephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a gross mistake, when they say that this first year of John Hyrcanus, which we have just now seen to have been a Sabbatic year, was in the 162nd Olympiad, whereas it was for certain the second year of the 161st. See the like before, xii. 7, § 6.—W.

up in the city, which he surrounded with seven camps, but accomplished nothing much at first, because of the strength of the walls and the valour of the besieged, and also from want of water, which they were delivered from by a great downfall of rain at the setting of the Pleiades.[1] However, at the north part of the wall, where the ground happened to be level, the king raised a hundred towers, each three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them, and made attacks every day, and cut a double ditch deep and broad, and so shut the inhabitants in. But the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out, and if the enemy at any point were not upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of hurt, and if the enemy perceived them, they then easily retired. And as Hyrcanus saw the inconvenience of having so great a number of men in the city, for provisions were sooner consumed by them, and yet, as one may well suppose, great numbers did nothing, he weeded the useless ones and excluded them out of the city, and retained those only who were in the flower of their age and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, so they wandered about among the walls, and wasted away by famine, and died miserably. But when the feast of Tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days because of the festival, he yielded to his piety towards God, and agreed to a truce, and also sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded,[2] and all sorts of sweet spices, and gold and silver cups. And those that were at the

[1] This heliacal setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, was, in the days of Hyrcanus and Josephus, early in the spring, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judæa; and this, so far as I remember, is the only astronomical character of time, besides one eclipse of the moon in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus, the Jews being little accustomed to astronomical observations, any further than for the uses of their calendar, and utterly forbidden those astrological uses which the heathens commonly made of them.—W.

[2] Dr. Hudson tells us here, that this custom of gilding the horns of those oxen that were to be sacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.—W.

gates received the sacrifice from those that brought it, and took it to the temple, Antiochus in the meanwhile feasting his army; which was very different conduct from that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, violating the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war upon him, and would never be reconciled to him. But all called this Antiochus Pious for the great zeal he showed in religion.

§ 3. And Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly, and when he saw how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore their national polity. And Antiochus rejected the counsel of those that would have had him utterly destroy the nation because of their holding aloof from other nations, and did not regard what they said, but being persuaded that all they did was done from piety, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute to him for Joppa and the other cities which bordered upon Judæa, and would admit a garrison of his, he would on these terms make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, would not agree to admit a garrison, because they did not associate with other people; but they were willing, instead of the admission of a garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred at once, and sent the hostages, whom king Antiochus accepted, one of whom was Hyrcanus' brother. Hyrcanus also demolished the fortifications that went round the city: and on these conditions Antiochus raised the siege and departed.

§ 4. Now Hyrcanus opened the tomb of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents, and relying on this store, was the first of the Jews that kept foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual alliance made between him and Antiochus, so Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatever his army wanted in great plenty and with great generosity, and accompained him

when he made an expedition against the Parthians. Nicolaus of Damascus bears me out as to this, who writes in his history as follows. "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus,[1] upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days, at the request of Hyrcanus the Jew, because of a national festival, whereon the laws of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for the festival of Pentecost was the next day to the Sabbath; nor is it lawful for us to journey[2] either on the Sabbath-days, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces the Parthian, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain: and his brother Demetrius[3] succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria, Arsaces having freed him from his captivity when Antiochus attacked Parthia, as I have previously related elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a League with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1.

BUT when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he straightway made an expedition against the cities of Syria, thinking, as was indeed the case, to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba,[4] and that not without his army suffering great hardships. After this he took Samega,[5] and the

[1] Apparently the Lycus, *Nahr el-Kelb*, north of Beirût.

[2] The Jews were not to march or journey on the Sabbath, or on such a great festival as was equivalent to the Sabbath, any further than a 'Sabbath-day's journey,' or 2,000 cubits.—W.

[3] Demetrius II., Nicator, reascended the throne in 128 B.C., after the defeat and death of Antiochus VII., Sidetes.

[4] *Medeba*, east of the Jordan.

[5] In Jewish War, i. 2, § 6, Samaea; supposed to be near Lake Merom.

places in its neighbourhood, and besides these Shechem[1] and Gerizim, and the nation of the Cuthæans, who dwelt near the temple (like the one at Jerusalem) which Alexander permitted Sanballat the general to build, for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddus, the high priest, as I have formerly related, which temple was now laid waste two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Adora[2] and Marissa,[3] cities of Idumæa, and subdued all the Idumæans, and permitted them to stay in their own country, if they would circumcise their foreskins, and conform to the laws of the Jews. And they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to circumcision and the rest of the Jewish mode of life;[4] since which time they have been accounted no other than Jews.

§ 2. Hyrcanus the high priest was also desirous to renew the friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly he sent an embassage to them; and when the senate had received his letter, they made friendship with him in the following manner. "Fanius (the son of Marcus) the prætor gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February in the Comitia, in the presence of Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the

[1] *Nâblus.* [2] Adoraim, *Dûra.*

[3] Mareshah, *Kh. Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrîn.*

[4] This account of the Idumæans submitting to circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire history afterwards. See Antiq. xiv. 8, § 1; xv. 7, § 9; Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1; iv. 4, § 5. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice, or entire Jews, as here and elsewhere, Antiq. xiv. 8, § 1. However, Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod was derived from such a proselyte of justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than a 'half Jew,' xiv. 15, § 2. But still take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129, the words of Ammonius, a grammarian, which fully confirm this account of the Idumæans in Josephus. "The Jews (says he) are such by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumæans were not Jews from the beginning, but Phœnicians and Syrians; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and be subject to the same laws, they were called Jews." Dio also says, as the Dean there quotes him, from book xxxvi. p. 37. "That country is called 'Judæa,' and the people 'Jews;' and this name is given also to as many others as embrace their religion, though of other nations."—W.

Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, to discuss what the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, viz. Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius the son of Alexander, and Diodorus the son of Jason, all three good and virtuous men, came to treat about, namely the league of friendship and mutual alliance which existed between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs. For example, they desired that Joppa and its havens, and Gazara[1] and its springs, and the several other cities and places of theirs which Antiochus had taken from them in war contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them, and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, or the countries of those that were subject to them, and that whatever had been decreed by Antiochus during the war, without the consent of the senate, might be made void, and that the Romans would send ambassadors, who would take care that restitution should be made to them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they would make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war, and that they would grant them letters of protection to kings and commonwealths for their security on their return home. It was decreed then as to these points to renew the league of friendship and mutual alliance with these good men, who were sent by a good and friendly people." But as to the letters desired, their answer was that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour for the time to come that no such injury should be done them; and that the prætor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to pay their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury, and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them on their way and to see that they got home safely.

§ 3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who wished to make war against Hyrcanus, he had no opportunity or chance

[1] *Tell Jezar.*

for it, as both the Syrians and soldiers hated him, because he was a bad man. And when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy[1] who was called Physcon, begging him to send them one of the family of Seleucus to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander[2] (who was also called Zebina) with an army, and there was a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife to Ptolemais, but his wife would not receive him, so he went thence to Tyre, and was there taken, and when he had suffered much at the hands of those that hated him, he was slain by them.[3] And Alexander took over the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus the high priest, but afterwards when he fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius,[4] who was also called Grypus, he was beaten in the fight and slain.

CHAP X.

How, upon the Quarrel between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the Sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1.

WHEN Antiochus had taken over the kingdom of Syria, he was afraid to lead an army into Judæa, because he heard that his uterine brother, who was also called Antiochus,[5] was raising an army against him from Cyzicus. So he stayed at home, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in Cyzicus.[6] He was the son of Antiochus who was called Soter, who died in Parthia, and was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Antiochus Grypus, for it so happened that Cleopatra had married two brothers, as I have related

[1] Ptolemy VII., Euergetes II., 146-117 B.C.
[2] 128 B.C.
[3] 128 B.C.
[4] 126 B.C.
[5] 114 B.C.
[6] Near *Panderma*, on the coast of the Sea of *Marmora*.

elsewhere. This Antiochus Cyzicenus went into Syria and continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace. For after the death of Antiochus he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under the brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus. For the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judæa quietly, insomuch that he amassed an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus ravaged his land, he then openly showed his hand, and when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were worn out by the struggles they had with one another, he despised them both.

§ 2. And he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste,[1] and its rebuilding by Herod, I shall speak at the proper place. And he attacked and besieged it vigorously, for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Marissa, who were colonists and allies of the Jews, at the bidding of the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a trench, and built a double wall fourscore furlongs long all round the city, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege. And they brought the Samaritans to such great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what is not usually eaten, and to invite Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brothers, but got away. And they returned to Samaria, and shut up the Samaritans again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathurus, whom he sent without his mother's consent, so that she nearly turned him out of the succession. With these Egyptians Antiochus at first overran and ravaged the country of

[1] *Sebustieh.*

Hyrcanus like a robber, for he durst not meet him face to face to fight with him, not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but he supposed that by thus ravaging his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria. However, as he fell into ambush and lost many of his soldiers, he went away to Tripolis, and committed the carrying on of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

§ 3. As to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and slain immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken the city, which was not till after a year's siege, he was not content with that only, but he razed Samaria to the ground, and brought rivulets to it to swamp it, and by digging through it he made a lake of it, and took away all indications that there had ever been a city there at all. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to talk with with him. For they say that, on the very day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple as high priest burning incense, and heard a voice saying that his sons had just overcome Antiochus. And he openly declared this to all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple, and it proved true. Such was the condition of affairs with Hyrcanus.

§ 4. Now it happened at this time, that not only were those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judæa in prosperity, but also those who dwelt at Alexandria and in Egypt and Cyprus. For Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy who was called Lathurus, and appointed as her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple like that at Jerusalem in the district of Heliopolis, as I have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted her army to these men, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests in the following words. "Now most, both of those that came to Cyprus with us, and of those that were sent afterwards there by Cleopatra, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those Jews that were called Onias' party

continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

§ 5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus, and they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as I have stated already. And so great is their influence over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king, or against the high priest, they are at once believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And once he invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, and when he saw them in a good humour, began to say to them, that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the very profession of the Pharisees. However, he desired, if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, that they would call him back and correct him. And as they testified to his being entirely virtuous, he was well pleased with their commendation. But one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man malignant by nature and delighting in faction, said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what reason he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard from old men, that thy mother was a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was very angry with him, and all the Pharisees were very indignant.

§ 6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast that slur upon him according to the general opinion of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest, if he would but ask them the question, what punishment they thought Eleazar deserved for what he had said. And Hyrcanus having asked the Pharisees what punishment they thought Eleazar deserved (for he would feel sure that the slur was not laid on him with

their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved), the Pharisees made answer, that Eleazar deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish his taunt with death. And indeed the Pharisees generally are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this mild sentence Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that the man had reproached him with their approbation. But it was Jonathan who chiefly exasperated him against them, and influenced him so that he made him join the Sadducees and leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude; but of this I shall speak hereafter. What I would now merely state is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many traditional observances handed down from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses, and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances obligatory that are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And great disputes and differences have arisen concerning these things among them, as the Sadducees influence none but the rich, and have not the populace on their side, but the Pharisees have the multitude to back them. But as to these two sects and that of the Essenes I have given an accurate account in the second book of the Jewish War.

§ 7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he afterwards lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and the power of prophecy, for God was with him, and enabled him to know and foretell the future. Thus, as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; and their unhappy fate will be worth description, that people may thence learn how very much they came short of their father's happiness.

CHAP. XI.

How Aristobulus, when he had taken the Government, put a Diadem on his Head, and was most barbarously cruel to his Mother and Brothers; and how, after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died.

§ 1.

NOW when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, was the first after the captivity to put a diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty-one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and had returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also put his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her mistress of all, and proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to starve her in prison. He was also estranged from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and eventually slew him too, though he seemed to have a great affection for him, and made him partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he did not at first give credit to, partly because he loved him and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the charges proceeded only from envy. But when Antigonus once returned from an expedition, and the feast of Tabernacles was then at hand, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned to the temple, with his soldiers about him in their armour, to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, and some wicked persons, who had a great mind to set the brothers at variance, made a handle of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully exaggerated his pompous show at the feast, and insinuated that all this behaviour was not like that of a private person,

but an indication that he aspired to royal authority, and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him, and that his way of reasoning was, that it was silly in him, when he might reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he shared in the honour of his brother.

§ 2. Aristobulus listened unwillingly to these insinuations, but took care not only that his brother should not suspect him, but also that he himself should run no risk of his own safety; so he posted his guards in a certain place that was underground and dark, (he himself then lying ill in the tower which was called Antonia,[1]) and commanded them, in case Antigonus came to him unarmed, not to injure him at all, but if he came armed, to kill him. And he sent to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary, how his brother had heard that he had got a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see it. And Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, and relying on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he was, in his entire armour, in order to show it him. But when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be very dark, the guards slew him. Now this death of his proves that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more alienate the good-will and natural affections of men than these passions. But here one may take occasion to marvel at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essenes, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, he cried out to his companions and friends, who dwelt with him as his scholars in the art of foretelling things to come, that it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who was still alive, for he saw him

[1] The tower Antonia, on the north of the Temple. Josephus here uses the later name; it was called Baris at this period, see Antiq. xv. 11, § 4, and was strengthened and partially rebuilt by Herod the Great.

passing by, although he had foretold that he should die that very day at the place called Strato's Tower, and the place where he had foretold he should be slain was six hundred furlongs off, and most of the day was already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet. As he was saying this in a dejected mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which was also itself called Strato's Tower, having the same name as that Cæsarea[1] which lies on the sea. This event greatly disturbed the prophet.

§ 3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother, on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was so disturbed in mind at such blood-guiltiness, that his inward parts consumed away owing to his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood, which one of the servants that attended upon him, when carrying it away, did, by divine providence, as I cannot but think, slip down and shed part of it at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus' blood there slain still remaining. And when there was a cry raised by the spectators, as if the servant had shed the blood in that place on purpose, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is concealed in such cases is very bad. So upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth: whereupon he shed many tears, in the mental agony which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, "I am not, I see, to escape the detection of God for the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a quick punishment is coming upon me for shedding the blood of my relations. And now, most shameless body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die to appease the ghosts of my brother and mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop, to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In saying these last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a

[1] The ancient name of Cæsarea Palæstina was Strato's Tower.

lover of the Greeks,[1] and had conferred many benefits on his own country, having made war against Ituræa, and added a great part of it to Judæa, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would remain in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of equity, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness on the authority of Timagenes in the following words. "This man was a man of equity, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Ituræans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their foreskins."

CHAP. XII.

How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition against Ptolemais, and then raised the Siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathurus; and how Ptolemy made War against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make War against him, though he pretended to be in Friendship with him.

§ 1.

WHEN Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who was called by the Greeks Alexandra, let his brothers out of prison (for Aristobulus had kept them there, as I have said already), and made Alexander Janneas king, who was superior in age and in moderation. He happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and was never permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The reason of which hatred is thus reported. As Hyrcanus loved chiefly his two eldest sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, he inquired of God, who appeared to him in his sleep, which of his sons should be his successor; and upon God's showing him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and had him brought up in Galilee.[2] However, God did not

[1] Philhellen.

[2] The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his, whom he did not love, to come to Judæa, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee,

deceive Hyrcanus, for after the death of Aristobulus he certainly took over the kingdom, and slew one of his brothers, who aimed at the kingdom, but held the other in honour, who chose to live a private and a quiet life.

§ 2. When he had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the enemy in battle, he shut them up in the city, and invested it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, and Strato's Tower[1] and Dora[2] which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now as Antiochus Philometor, and his brother Antiochus who was also called Cyzicenus, were warring against one another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could get no assistance from them; but when they were hard pressed by this siege, Zoilus, who occupied Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, because of the contest between the kings, aimed at kingly power himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais. Nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they could hope for any aid from them; for both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by resting as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathurus who now held Cyprus, and who went to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by his mother Cleopatra. So the people of Ptolemais sent to him, and desired him to come as an ally to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, if he would pass over into Syria, that he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais, and also said that Zoilus, and also the Sidonians and

is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well-cultivated a country as Judæa, Matt. xxvi. 73, John vii. 52, Acts ii. 7, although another obvious reason occurs also, that he was further out of his sight in Galilee than he would have been in Judæa.—W.

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîyeh.*

[2] *Tantûrah.*

many others, would assist him, he was sanguine at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

§ 3. Meantime Demænetus, one that had great powers of persuasion, and a leader of the populace, made the men of Ptolemais change their opinions, and said to them, that it was better, as the future was uncertain, to run all hazard against the Jews, than to accept evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master, and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater one from Egypt, for Cleopatra would not permit Ptolemy's raising an army for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, for she was labouring to eject her son out of Cyprus even; and while Ptolemy, if he failed in his hopes, could still retire to Cyprus, they would be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he heard of the change of mind in the people of Ptolemais, yet went on with his voyage all the same, and put in at a place called Sycaminus,[1] and there set his army on shore. His whole army, horse and foot together, amounted to about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp; but as the people of Ptolemais would neither receive his messengers, nor hear what they had to say, he was very anxious.

§ 4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by Alexander and the Jews, Alexander raised the siege for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he played a double game afterwards, privately inviting Cleopatra to march against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual alliance with him; and he promised to give him four hundred talents of silver, and asked him in return to put out of the way the tyrant Zoilus and give his country to the Jews. Then Ptolemy gladly made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus, but when he afterwards heard that Alexander had privately made overtures to his mother Cleopatra, he broke his league of friendship with him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it

[1] *Haifa el-Atîkah*, close to Mount Carmel.

would not receive him; and leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he set out himself with the rest to subdue Judæa. And when Alexander understood that this was Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country, or, as some writers have said, eighty thousand, and with this army went to meet Ptolemy. But Ptolemy unexpectedly made an assault upon Asochis,[1] a city of Galilee, and took it by storm on the Sabbath-day, and captured about ten thousand people, and took a great deal of spoil.

§ 5. He next tried to take Sepphoris,[2] which was a city not far from that which had just been sacked, but he lost many of his men there, and marched on to fight with Alexander. And he met him near the river Jordan, at a certain place called Asophon,[3] not far from the river Jordan, and pitched his camp near the enemy. He had eight thousand in the van of his army whom he called Hecatontamachi,[4] who had shields of brass. Those in the van of Ptolemy's army also had shields covered with brass: but Ptolemy's soldiers were in other respects inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more cautious in running hazard: but Philostephanus the tactician put great courage into them, and ordered them to cross the river which lay between the two camps. Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought if the enemy had the river on their back, he should the easier take them prisoners, as they could not then flee out of the battle, At first the courage and daring on both sides were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander had the best of it, till Philostephanus divided his troops, and reinforced those that were giving way; and as there was no reserve to help those Jews that gave way, they consequently fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled with them. But Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite differently, for they followed the Jews, and killed them, and at last those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them till their weapons

[1] Probably *Kefr Menda*, see Life, § 45.
[2] *Sefûrieh.* [3] Not identified.
[4] That is, able each to fight one hundred men.

were blunted, and their hands quite tired with slaughter. And the report was that thirty thousand were slain, but Timagenes says there were fifty thousand slain. As for the rest, part of them were taken captive, and part fled to their own homes.

§ 6. After this victory, Ptolemy scoured all the country round, and when night came on, he took up his quarters in certain villages of Judæa, and as he found them full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to cut their throats and hack them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and devour their limbs as sacrifices. This command was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and so might be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. Both Strabo and Nicolaus affirm that they used these people in this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by storm, as I have shown elsewhere.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the League of Alliance which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Cœle-Syria, and overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many myriads of Jews that rebelled against him: also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, Antiochus Pius, and others.

§ 1.

WHEN Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judæa waste with security, and had got the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, as he was at her gates, and as he was so much stronger now than before, would probably desire to rule over the Egyptians. So she immediately advanced against him with both a naval and land force, and made the Jews Chelcias and Ananias generals of her whole army, and sent the greatest part of her riches, her grand-

children, and her will, to the people of Cos.[1] Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phœnicia, when that country revolted, and herself went to Ptolemais, and as the people of Ptolemais would not receive her, besieged the city. But Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army and so soon take it. But he failed in his hope. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Cœle-Syria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

§ 2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent part of her army there, and drove him out of that country. And when he had returned from Egypt again, he spent the winter at Gaza. And meantime Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais as well as the city by siege, and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and paid her such marks of respect as were but proper, since he had had no other refuge but her in the miseries he endured under Ptolemy. Now some of her friends urged her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias' counsel was contrary to theirs, for he said she would do an unjust action, if she deprived a man that was her ally of the authority which belonged to him, and that a man who was related to them. "For (said he) I would not have thee ignorant of this, that any injustice thou doest to him, will make all us Jews thy enemies." Cleopatra hearkened to this advice of Ananias, and did no injury to Alexander, but made an alliance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Cœle-Syria.

§ 3. Now when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he at once made an expedition into Cœle-Syria, and took Gadara,[2] after a siege of ten months. He also took Amathus,[3] a very strong fortress belonging to those who dwelt beyond the Jordan, where Theodorus,

[1] Cos, *Stanko*, an island off the West Coast of Asia Minor, was the birthplace of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

[2] *Umm Keis.*

[3] Hamath, *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

the son of Zeno, had his chief treasures, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized on Alexander's baggage. But this misfortune did not terrify Alexander, but he made a raid on the maritime parts, as Raphia[1] and Anthedon[2] (the name of which last king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippiades), and took even it by storm. And when he saw that Ptolemy had retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and that his mother Cleopatra had returned to Egypt, in his rage because the people of Gaza had invited Ptolemy to assist them, he besieged their city and ravaged their country. But when Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night with two thousand mercenaries and ten thousand of his own men,[3] the men of Gaza prevailed while the night lasted, as they made the enemy believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them: but when day dawned, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth, they rallied and fell upon the men of Gaza, and slew about a thousand of them. But as the men of Gaza stoutly resisted, and would not surrender either for scarcity of provisions or because of the great numbers that were slain (for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come into the power of their enemies), Aretas, the king of the Arabians, a very illustrious person, encouraged them by promising that he would come to their assistance. But before he came Apollodotus happened to get slain, for his brother Lysimachus, envying him for the great reputation he had among the citizens, murdered him, and won over the army, and delivered up the city to Alexander. And he, when he entered first, was quiet, but afterwards set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave the city up to sack. So some went one way, and some another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; but they did not behave cowardly, but opposed those that came to slay

[1] See Ant. xiv. 5, § 3, and Jewish War, i. 8, § 4. On the edge of the desert, twenty-two miles S.W. of Gaza, now *er-Rafâh*.

[2] See Ant. xiv. 5, § 3, and xv. 7, § 3; Jewish War, i. 4, § 2, i. 8, § 4, and i. 21, § 8; it was twenty stadia, about two and a half miles, south of Gaza, *Tell el-'Ajûl* or *Kefr Hette*.

[3] I read οἰκείων for the common reading οἰκετῶν.

them, and slew as many of the Jews. And some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoil; nay, some of them with their own hands slew their children and wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them. But the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting in council,) and Alexander slew them, and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in the siege.

§ 4. About this very time Antiochus, who was also called Grypus, was treacherously slain by Heracleon, when he had lived forty-five years, and reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus[1] succeeded him in the kingdom, and warred with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was also called Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But not long after Antiochus,[2] the son of Cyzicenus, who was called the Pious, came to Aradus,[3] and put the diadem on his own head, and warred against Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. And he fled to Cilicia, and went to Mopsuestia,[4] and levied money again upon the people of Mopsuestia; but they were indignant and burnt down his palace, and slew him and his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him, and was beaten and slain, he and his army. After him his brother Philip[5] put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathurus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucærus, from Cnidos,[6] and made him king at Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but soon died; for when he was come as an ally to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, who was warring against the Parthians, he fell fighting courageously. And his two brothers Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as has been elsewhere related.

§ 5. As to Alexander, his own people were rebellious

[1] Seleucus Gryphus, 96 B.C.
[2] Antiochus X., 89 B.C.
[3] Arvad, the island *er-Rûad*.
[4] Now *Missis*, east of *Adana*.
[5] 87 B.C.
[6] The ruins are on Cape *Crio*, at the S.W. end of Asia Minor.

against him, for at a festival which was then being celebrated, as he stood at the altar and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose in insurrection against him and pelted him with citrons [which they then had in their hands,] because the law of the Jews requires at the feast of Tabernacles that every one should have branches of palm-trees and citron-trees, as I have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as descended from a woman who had been a captive,[1] and so as unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew about six thousand of them. He also constructed a wooden screen round the altar and the temple, as far as the partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he debarred the multitude from coming near him. He also kept an army of Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries ; but could not so utilize the Syrians, as he was their enemy. He also overcame the Moabites and Gileadites, who were Arabians, and made them pay tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, as Theodorus durst not fight with him.[2] But engaging in battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, he fell into an ambush in places that were rugged and difficult to travel over, and was thrown down into a deep ravine by a multitude of camels at Gadara a village of Gilead, and barely escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where because of his ill success the nation attacked him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no less than fifty thousand of them. And when he begged that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more on account of what had happened; and when he asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out that he ought to die, and sent to Demetrius Eucærus, and begged him to make an alliance with them.

[1] This reproach cast on Alexander seems only the repetition of the old Pharisaical calumny upon his father. See chap. x. § 5.—W.

[2] This Theodorus was the son of Zeno, and was in the possession of Amathus, as we gather from § 3, foregoing.—W.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucærus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got rid of his Troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1.

SO Demetrius came with an army, which he swelled with those that invited him, and encamped near the city of Shechem;[1] and Alexander, with six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews who were of his party, marched against Demetrius, who had three thousand horse and forty thousand foot. Now there was much negotiation on both sides, Demetrius trying to make the mercenaries that were with Alexander desert because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to make the Jews desert that were with Demetrius. However, neither of them could persuade the opposite side to do as they wished, but a battle ensued, in which Demetrius was the conqueror, and all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given proof of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

§ 2. Now when Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews mustered to him, moved by pity at his reverse. So Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and were beaten, and slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had. And when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city of Bethome,[2] he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and got the inhabitants into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them: for as he was

[1] *Nâblus.*

[2] In Jewish War, i. 4, § 6, the name is given as Bemeselis; the site is unknown.

feasting with his concubines in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were still living ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him, but this punishment which he exacted was inhuman, though we suppose him to have been ever so much distressed, as it is probable he was, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard both as to his life and kingdom. For they were not satisfied to fight only by themselves against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at last they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join the Jews in the war against him, and they also did ten thousand other things to affront and outrage him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, and on account of that extreme savageness he got the name of Thracidas among the Jews.[1] And the soldiers who had fought against him, who were about eight thousand in number, fled by night, and continued in exile all the time that Alexander lived. And he, being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

§ 3. Now when Demetrius departed from Judæa, he went to Berœa,[2] and besieged his brother Philip, taking with him ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. But Strato, the tyrant of Berœa and ally of Philip, called in Zizus the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinaces, the ruler of the Parthians. And they coming with a large force, and besieging Demetrius in his intrenched camp, into which they had driven him with their arrows, compelled those that were with him to surrender from want of water. And they took a great deal of spoil out of that country, and captured Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia, but as to

[1] Or Thracian. The Thracians were proverbial for savage barbarity, see for example Thucydides, vii. 29.

[2] *Aleppo.*

those of the people of Antioch whom they took captive, they restored them to the people of Antioch without any ransom. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, held Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. And Philip, directly the fight was over, went to Antioch, and made himself master of it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAP. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions into Judæa; as also, how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and died after an Illness of Three Years, and what Advice he gave to Alexandra.

§ 1.

AFTER this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and went to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there reigned. But as he was making an expedition against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and went to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, delivered up the city of the Damascenes to him; but as Philip was ungrateful to him, and bestowed upon him nothing of what he hoped for when he received him into the city, but wished to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear of him than owing to the kindness of Milesius, and because he did not reward him as he ought to have done, he was suspected by him, and so lost Damascus again; for when he was going into the Hippodrome, Milesius shut him out of it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus. And he, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back from Arabia, and also immediately marched into Judæa, with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. And Alexander, being afraid at his coming, dug a deep trench from Chabarzaba,[1] which is now called Anti-

[1] *Kefr Sâba.*

patris,[1] to the sea near Joppa,[2] where alone an army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and erected on it wooden towers and curtains, and waited for the coming of Antiochus, who burnt all those works, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retired, but afterwards suddenly appeared with ten thousand cavalry. Antiochus met them and fought desperately, but when he had got the victory in his part of the battle, and was bringing up reinforcements to the part of his army that was hard pressed, he got slain. And when Antiochus had fallen, his army fled to the village of Cana,[3] where most of them perished by famine.

§ 2. After him Aretas reigned over Cœle-Syria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, because of the hatred they bore to Ptolemy the son of Mennæus. He also made thence an expedition into Judæa, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Addida,[4] but upon certain conditions agreed on between them retired from Judæa.

§ 3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dium,[5] and took it, and then made an expedition against Essa,[6] where most of Zeno's treasures happened to be, and surrounded the place with three walls, and when he had taken the city by assault, he marched on to Gaulana[7] and Seleucia.[8] And when he had taken those cities, he also took the valley which is called the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala.[9] He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, and the Jews joyfully received him because of his good success.

[1] *Kul'at Râs el-'Ain.* For discussion on true site of Antipatris see Memoirs of Palestine Fund, ii. 258-262.

[2] That part of the Mediterranean off the coast at *Jaffa.*

[3] Apparently a village in the south of Palestine, and not one of the Canas of Galilee.

[4] *Hadîtheh*, near Lydda.

[5] One of the cities of Decapolis, east of Jordan; the site has not yet been recovered.

[6] A town east of Jordan, site unknown.

[7] *Sahem ej-Jaulân*, east of the Sea of Galilee.

[8] See Life, § 37; Jewish War, iv. 1, § 1.

[9] *Kul'at el-Husn.*

§ 4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities of the Syrians and Idumæans and Phœnicians; on the sea coast Strato's Tower,[1] Apollonia,[2] Joppa,[3] Jamnia,[4] Azotus,[5] Gaza,[6] Anthedon,[7] Raphia,[8] and Rhinocurura;[9] in the interior of the country towards Idumæa, Adora[10] and Marissa[11] and Samaria,[12] Mount Carmel and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis,[13] Gadara,[14] Gaulanitis,[15] Seleucia,[16] and Gabala;[17] in the country of Moab, Heshbon,[18] Medaba,[19] Lemba,[20] Oronas,[21] Telithon,[22] Zara,[23] the valley of the Cilicians,[24] and Pella[25] (which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews). The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities in Syria, which had been destroyed.

§ 5. After this king Alexander, although he fell ill from hard drinking, and was troubled with a quartan ague for three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite worn out with the labours he had undergone, and died on the borders of the Gerasenes,[26] while besieging Ragaba,[27] a fortress beyond the Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was on the point of death, and had no longer any hope of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed the desolate condition which herself and her sons would be left in, and said to him, "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other support, and that though thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice, to do what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîyeh*.
[2] *Arsûf*, between *Kaisarîyeh* and *Jaffa*.
[3] *Jaffa*.
[4] *Yebnah*.
[5] Ashdod, *Esdûd*.
[6] *Ghuzzeh*.
[7] See p. 422, note 2.
[8] *er-Rafâh*.
[9] *el-'Arîsh*, the border town between Egypt and Palestine.
[10] *Dûra*.
[11] *Kh. Mer'ash*.
[12] *Sebustieh*.
[13] *Beisân*.
[14] *Umm Keis*.
[15] *Sahem ej-Jaulân*.
[16] See p. 428, note 6.
[17] Probably for Gamala, *Kul'at el-Husn*.
[18] *Hesbân*.
[19] *Medeba*.
[20] Unknown.
[21] Possibly the Horonaim of Is. xv. 5, and Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 54.
[22] Unknown.
[23] *Beit Zâra*.
[24] Unknown.
[25] *Tubakât Fâhil*.
[26] The borders of the district of Gerasa, *Jerâsh*.
[27] Not identified.

securely for herself and her children: namely, to conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken Ragaba, and after that to go in triumph as upon a victory to Jerusalem, and put some authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for they would commend her for the honour she did them, and would reconcile the nation to her; for they had great authority among the Jews, both to injure such as hated them, and to bring advantages to those who were friendly disposed to them, for they were believed most of all by the multitude when they spoke any severe thing against others, though it was only out of envy. And he said that it was owing to them, whom indeed he had insulted, that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation. "Do thou therefore," he added, "when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my dead body, and with great show of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour my corpse by refusing it burial, as having suffered much at my hands, or whether in their anger they will offer any other outrage to that body. Promise them also that thou wilt do nothing without consulting them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than I could have had from thee, for when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety."[1] When he had given his wife this advice he died, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years save one.

[1] It seems, by this dying advice of Alexander to his wife, that he had himself pursued the measures of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions, chap. 7, § 2, and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family were to retain their hold over the Jewish nation.—W.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom Nine Years, and then, having done many glorious Actions, died.

§ 1.

AND Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spoke to the Pharisees, and put all things into their hands, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and so pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them her friends and well-wishers. So they went among the multitude, and made speeches to them, extolling the actions of Alexander, and telling them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they induced them to grieve and be in heaviness for him, so that he had a more splendid funeral than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now as to her two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unfit to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was active and bold. And Alexandra herself was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

§ 2. Now she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he did not meddle with politics, and she allowed the Pharisees to do everything, and also ordered the multitude to be obedient to them. She also restored those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law Hyrcanus had abrogated. She had indeed the name of queen, but the Pharisees had all the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, in a word, they differed in nothing from lords of the realm. However, the queen also looked after the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary

soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them. And the country was entirely at peace, except for the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and urged her to kill those who had persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they themselves cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes, and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the leading men of the opposite party came to the palace, and Aristobulus with them (for he seemed to be displeased at what was done, and it appeared clear that, if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so), and reminded the queen what great dangers they had gone through, and what great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, and had in consequence received the greatest marks of favour from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that after having escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were cut off at home, by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any remedy whatever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their masters, but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her dismissal from her service, for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would die willingly before the palace, if she would not forgive them. They said also that it would be a great disgrace both for themselves and for the queen, if when they were neglected by her, they should be welcomed by her husband's enemies, for the Arabian Aretas and the other monarchs would give any pay if they could get such men as mercenaries, whose very names, before their voices were heard, would be probably terrible to them. But if they could not obtain this their second request, and she was determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, let her place every one of them in her fortresses; for if some demon had a spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to live in a lowly station.

§ 3. As these men used much language of this kind, and called upon Alexander's ghost to commiserate those already slain, and those in danger of being so, all the bystanders broke out into tears; especially Aristobulus, who showed what his sentiments were, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother. He said also that they were indeed themselves the authors of their own calamities, seeing they had unreasonably permitted a woman, who was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter to rule over the kingdom. Then Alexandra, not knowing how to refuse with any decency, committed all the fortresses to them, except Hyrcania [1] and Alexandrium [2] and Machærus,[3] where her principal treasures were. A little while after she also sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Mennæus, who was a bad neighbour to that city; but he did nothing considerable against him, and returned home.

§ 4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes,[4] the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five hundred thousand soldiers,[5] and was coming to attack Judæa. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, as he was besieging Ptolemais. For queen Selene, who was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, and had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated that he would decree nothing severe against the queen or nation. He commended them for the court they paid

[1] On the east of the Jordan. See Ant. xiv. 5, § 4; Jewish War, i. 8, § 5. Perhaps *'Arak el-Emîr*.

[2] *Kefr Istûna*, near *Keriût*, Coreæ. Ant. xiv. 3, § 4; xiv. 5, § 2, 4; Jewish War, i. 6, § 4; i. 8, § 5.

[3] *Mekaur*, to the east of the Dead Sea.

[4] Tigranes II., 93-39 B.C.

[5] The number of 500,000, or even 300,000, as one Greek copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigranes' army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judæa, seems much too large. We have already had several such extravagant numbers in Josephus's present copies. I incline to Dr. Hudson's emendation here, which supposes them but 40,000.—W.

him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him (for he had fled into Iberia), but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

§ 5. After this, when the queen was fallen dangerously ill, Aristobulus resolved to attempt to seize the kingdom, so he stole away secretly by night with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses wherein his father's friends were settled. For as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so was he now much more afraid that, upon her death, their whole family would be in the power of the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother the heir apparent. Now no one had any idea of what he was going to do except his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He went first of all to Agaba,[1] where was Galæstes, one of the influential men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus had fled; and she did not for some time suppose that his departure had any revolutionary intention; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first fortress, the second fortress, and all the fortresses (for as soon as one began, they all submitted to his disposal), then the queen and nation were in the greatest alarm, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them: so they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and kept them in the fortress that was over the temple.[2] Now a mighty conflux of people came to Aristobulus from all parts, inso-

[1] Not identified.

[2] This fortress, castle, citadel, or tower, whither the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, Antiq. xviii. 4, § 3, and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the Tower of Antonia, Antiq. xv. 11, § 5. —W.

much that he had a kind of royal retinue about him; for in little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two fortresses, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis and the monarchs. For men are easily led by majorities, and readily submit to them; and besides this they thought that by affording him their assistance when he could not expect it, they as well as he would enjoy the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the cause of his gaining the kingdom. Now Hyrcanus and the elders of the Jews went in to the queen, and desired that she would give them her views on the present state of affairs, for Aristobulus was already lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing so many strongholds, and it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, however ill she were, whilst she was alive, and the danger would be upon them in no long time. And she bade them do what they thought best to be done: for they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries; but she had small concern for public affairs now, as the strength of her body already failed her.

§ 6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had lived in all seventy-three. She was a woman who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex; for she was sagacious to the highest degree in her love of rule, and demonstrated at once by her doings her practical genius, and the little understanding that men show who make frequent mistakes in ruling. For she always preferred the present to the future, and ranked power above all things, and where that was at stake had no regard to what was good or right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the cause of its losing, and that at no distant date, that authority which she had obtained by much toil and danger, from a desire of interfering in what did not belong to a woman, and by siding in her opinions with those that bore ill-will to her family, and by leaving the administration destitute of proper support; and indeed her management during her administration,

while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and confusion. However, although this had been her fashion of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. Such was the conclusion of the reign of Alexandra.

END OF VOL. II.

CHISWICK PRESS:—C. WHITTINGHAM AND CO., TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

3 1197 00195 0218

DATE DUE

JUN 2 5 1983	SEP 2 6 1989		
JUN 3 0 REC'D	SEP 1 9 1989		
MAR 3 1 1982	MAR 0 1 1997		
[illegible]			
MAY 1 1984	MAR 0 1 1997		
MAY 8 REC'D	JUL 1 0 1997		
MAY 2 2 1984	[illegible]		
JUN 2 REC'D	SEP 2 2 1997		
JUN 1 6 1984			
	[illegible]		
[illegible]	OCT 1 6 1997		
JUN 1 8 1984	[illegible]		
	FEB 1 1 2000		
[illegible]	JAN 2 9 2000		
JAN 1 7 1985			
JAN 2 1 1985			
NOV 3 1986			
OCT 2 5 1986			

DEMCO 38-297